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BULGARIA

Background, Views of Plovdiv Oblast Leader

91BA0217A Sofia NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO
ZNAME in Bulgarian 28 Dec 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Trifon Mirchev, newly elected chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee of Plovdiv Oblast, by Pavlin Slavov; place and date not given: "I Value Conscientious Professionals"]

[Text] The new oblast manager was born in 1911 in Chopk'oy Village, Odrin Oblast. In 1913 his parents migrated to Bulgaria, where they led the hard life of refugees from Aegean Thrace. After moving from village to village, in the course of which he obtained his primary education, Trifon Mirchev entered the French College in Plovdiv. He graduated in 1931 with a bachelor's degree in modern languages, Latin, literature, and philosophy. He attended the law school of Sofia University, where he studied government and law. He graduated in 1936 and, after a two-year training period, began his lawyer's career in Plovdiv. During the war he was mobilized and appointed deputy mayor of Dedeagach and Gyumyurdzhina, where he gained valuable administrative experience. In 1945 Mirchev resumed his activities as a lawyer. At that time he was an active contributor to VREME, the Plovdiv newspaper. Because of his sharply critical comments published in the newspaper, he was tried for violating the Law for the Defense of the People's Regime. He also was secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] Group and of the section of opposition jurists. For such activities, the young lawyer was sentenced to one year and seven months in jail. However, the persecution against him continued, and he was consecutively sent to the infamous Kutsiyan, Bogdanov Dol, Belene, Nozharevo, and other camps.

He was released in 1950 but only for a very short time. In January 1951, as a result of his attempt at reactivating the BZNS-NP [Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] in the Plovdiv area, he was sentenced to prison once again, this time for eight years. He served time in Plovdiv, Varna, Belene, and Pazardzhik. After his release, this passionate supporter of the BZNS-NP ideas was banned by the authorities from practicing law. During that period of his life, Mirchev existed by doing heavy physical labor. It was only after 1960 that he was once again allowed to work in his field. Since December 1989, he has served as chairman of the Okrug BZNS-NP management.

Mr. Mirchev was kind enough to give his first interview to the readers of NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME.

[Slavov] You have held this office for no more than one week. How did you react to your appointment?

[Mirchev] To my great satisfaction, all 12 parties, organizations, and movements within the SDS Control

Council in Plovdiv unanimously supported my candidacy for this position. I am aware of the responsibility I assume at this moment, and I shall try to justify the expectations of the people who backed me.

[Slavov] What you have "inherited" from your predecessors?

[Mirchev] Frankly, I knew that there were many problems, but I was not aware of their...large number. Their solutions cannot be achieved immediately. A characteristic feature of politics is that problems are the result of the time in which we live. The present time is such that the most important thing is for the population to be provided with at least a minimum of food and fuel for the winter. We have already been able to ensure one kg of sugar per person in the oblast, and we hope to "sweeten" the holidays of all families. As for fuel, we are doing everything possible to at least partially meet the urgent needs of the people. The ecological problem as well is a very serious one.

[Slavov] Is the combination of an old team and a new manager not potentially dangerous?

[Mirchev] I found that the officials had been informed in advance of the choice made by the political forces, and they welcomed me in a friendly fashion. My brief impressions of my associates lead me to think that it is essentially conscientious and professionally well-trained people who are working in the oblast people's court. It is precisely these qualities that are mandatory for their highly responsible jobs, and I have always demanded and supported such qualities. My task is not to change the personnel but to cooperate usefully with people in our common activities. Anyone who realizes this does not need to worry about his future.

[Slavov] What is currently new in the oblast?

[Mirchev] An interesting situation is developing in Skutare Village. Here yet another TKZS [labor cooperative farm] has been founded. We are encouraging this phenomenon. It proves the increasing democratization in economic life and the need for change, which was present long before the new Law on the Land was passed. This case, although isolated, is of great significance because it proves the "thawing" of the old forms of management. The farmers themselves will determine the type of system they will set up in farming the land, based on their preferences and in accordance with economic factors, without interference on the part of the administrative authorities. It is practical experience that will prove most accurately which farms will be competitive.

[Slavov] How do you assess "temporary management"?

[Mirchev] It would be wrong to believe that because we have a limited mandate we should deal exclusively with current problems. It is precisely at a time when a thorough reorganization of economic life is taking place in our country that such daily problems affect the principles we are observing in our progress toward

democracy. For that reason, the temporary managements have the obligation to resolve problems, albeit individual ones, in accordance with the overall development of the processes. Such problems are defined by the aspiration toward legality and observing the will of the ordinary people and a painless transition to the new system.

[Slavov] Are you successful in your activities as chairman of the BZNS-NP oblast management?

[Mirchev] I believe I was right in refusing to be a candidate for people's representative, so that I could participate fully in the organizational life of the rural groups in the okrug. At present, we have groups in 203 out of 207 settlements in the Plovdiv area, and more than 17,000 members. I would like to believe that I have made a small contribution to this.

[Slavov] Finally, what wishes do you have for our supporters and the readers of this newspaper?

[Mirchev] I wish to anyone who reads NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME and to our supporters good health and faith in democracy in its best and fullest sense.

POLAND

Plight of Third World, East European Refugees

91EP0194A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
19 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by Anna Husarska: "Refugees"]

[Text] Until now, Poland has been a country of emigrants rather than immigrants. There continues to be a large number of permanent departures but for a year now, people have been coming to our country wanting to escape even worse conditions.

By the end of October, there were 640 refugees—in the strict sense of the word—in Poland, although, without any formal status because we have not as yet signed the international convention of 1951 pertaining to refugees.

The greatest number came from Ethiopia (169) and Lebanon (114). There are also 48 Palestinians, 46 Angolan refugees, 38 from Somalia, 40 from Iraq, 30 from Syria, 29 from Iran, and 24 from Turkey. There are 44 Albanians and 28 Romanians.

During the summer, several hundred citizens of Third World countries were turned back from the Swedish border and Poland had to take care of them. At first, they lived near Swinoujscie, then they were relocated to health resorts in the vicinity of Warsaw.

Where To Place Them and With What?

The largest of the health and rest centers in Serock can house 111 people. The remaining ones have from 26 to

102 occupants and are located in Otwock, Debem, Rynia, Modlin, Zegrzynek, Jachranka, Rudka, and Zegrze.

The daily upkeep cost per refugee runs approximately 50,000 zloty. The Polish Red Cross [PCK] has its own solidarity fund in the amount of 300 million zloty. In addition, the government allocated 10 billion zloty in March for aid to refugees. Up to October, the PCK had spent 7 billion zloty of this amount. We have received \$50,000 as well as hygiene and cleaning products, used clothing and food for this purpose from Sweden.

The office of the plenipotentiary for refugees under the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has received 44 billion zloty for next year from the budget.

Quarantine in Nadarzyn

A center vacated by a former unit of the Polish Army, that will accommodate from 150 to 200 people, is currently being prepared in Nadarzyn. Refugees from non-European countries will be quarantined there for 15 days due to the possibility of tropical diseases among them.

Two centers that can house from 600 to 800 people will be set up in the former quarters of Soviet units stationed in Poland in Miedzyrzecze and Bartoszyce.

The High Commissioner Decides

The questionnaires of all refugees are presented by the PCK to the Geneva-based UN High Commissioner for Refugees who can grant them the formal status of refugee. In mid-October, out of 711 reviewed cases, 419 persons received favorable opinions and now they are only waiting for some country to admit them.

The High Commissioner begins to cover the expense of their stay in Poland at the moment that he recognizes them as refugees. Otherwise, everything falls onto the shoulders of the PCK.

The Polish Red Cross works at trying to find a new homeland for the refugees who themselves admit that they do not want to stay permanently in Poland. They dream of Scandinavia or America. According to information given by the director of the Special Assistance Department of the PCK Main Administration, during the first 56 months they were successful in arranging the departure of two Albanians to Italy and one Lebanese woman to Sweden.

Tower of Babel in the House of Creative Work

In Serock in the House of Creative Work, there are 98 refugees. Approximately half of them are those who have been turned away from Sweden. They are from Syria, Turkey, Angola, and Somalia. More than half are children and they communicate among themselves in Polish.

There are also nine Romanians who have come here after the brutal beating of the population of Bucharest by miners in June of this year.

Six of them have already escaped to Germany and phoned from there. Four received political refugee status from the High Commissioner in Geneva. The rest have not as yet been decided.

Osvat Levente presents himself as a Hungarian Democratic Union activist. He is 35 years old and a waiter from Tirgu-Mures where he left a wife and six year old daughter. He left Romania by train; has no money for a return ticket and besides, does not want to return because he is afraid of repression. He has submitted applications for emigration to the embassies of Finland, Norway, and Denmark but they were all rejected.

He shares his accommodations with 46 year old Mihai Serban from Brasov who is a driver-mechanic. He has been to Warsaw and Legionow looking for work to no avail.

We are talking in the hall of the House of Creative Work in Serock. "We don't even have a change of clothes," complain the Romanians while stamping their slipped feet from the cold. When I ask them about the Romanian Gypsies installed at the [train] station and underground passageways, they say: "Gypsies are parasites; they never work, only beg and the Romanian Government is surely pleased to get rid of them when they come to Poland."

It Does Not Pay To Go Without Begging

The MSW spokesman for refugee related matters, Lt. Col. Zbigniew Skoczylas, has a more understanding approach. "To scrape together 300,000 zloty each day, the Gypsies must beg vigorously. But they don't want to stay here too long because they hate to part with the money they have to spend here for food. When they collect enough to see them through the winter in Romania, they leave."

The issue of Romanian Gypsies has been recently turned over to the Warsaw Administration of the PCK which has placed 33 people in a motel in Serock. At least as many people have run away from either the center or the bus taking them there from the Dworzec Wschodni [East Station]. "In Serock, there is no place to beg," says Skoczylas.

Emotional Comfort and Aggression

The colonel claims that the influx of Romanian Gypsies has decreased following the introduction of the obligatory proof of a million zloty in cash at the time of entry into Poland. This can already been seen from the statistics. On 13 December, 741 Romanians came into the country whereas 1,007 left (by way of comparison, 22,028 Soviet citizens entered our country and 14,114 left).

It is difficult not to agree with Col. Skoczylas that Romanian poverty cannot be solved with begging on Polish streets.

From my personal observations in Romania, I know that frequently Gypsies live in even worse conditions over there than at the Dworzec Wschodni. They are not particularly well-liked and cannot count on charity.

Col. Skoczylas, who has travelled with mountain climbing expeditions to India, says that the kind of poverty that exists among Romanian Gypsies is only to be found in Old Delhi or Calcutta. In his opinion, "the restrictions for entry to Poland are not a solution but only give us emotional comfort by removing this problem from before our eyes."

The colonel is most distressed about the reaction of Poles to the refugees staying in our country. He says that in conducted surveys, eight out of 10 people questioned about the Gypsies staying in Poland gave unfavorable replies and some were downright aggressive.

"This cannot be changed by any advocate or interdepartmental commission for refugee matters. We can only try to help those who are seeking help from us," he says.

YUGOSLAVIA

Tudjman Critic Ivan Zvonimir Cicak Interviewed

*91BA0201A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian
23 Nov-7 Dec 90 pp 8-12*

[Interview with Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, president of the Croatian Peasants Party, by Mirjana Bobic-Mojisilovic; place and date not given: "The Man Who Will Overthrow Tudjman"—first paragraph is DUGA introduction]

[Text] Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, president of the Croatian Peasants Party. Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, the increasingly popular party leader in Croatia, speaks about events in the Assembly, about clashes with Franjo Tudjman, about prison solidarity, about the young Croatian democracy, about Serbian stupidity, about Knin, Belgrade, about Ante Markovic and about why he would like to be the Croatian ambassador in Belgrade, and how he would like to see people he likes more often.

Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, enfant terrible of the Croatian political scene, is at the moment one of the most entertaining topics of conversation, but therefore also the most controversial. His political biography begins sometime in 1966, when he was thrown out of secondary school because of a written composition in which he openly declared that "his homeland is Croatia, the country of Yugoslavia, and perhaps someday Europe too." He sang in the church choir, like a devout Catholic, and was arrested because it was disclosed that a young chorister was having prohibited correspondence with enemy emigres. During the "mass movement," Cicak became a celebrated political personality, because, as a

student-provost of the Zagreb University, among other things, he opposed the sending of a telegram to Dr. Savka Dabčević-Kucar, Mika Tripalo and Dragutin Haramija, explaining this with the fact that they had supported throwing Dr. Sima Djodan and Dr. Marko Veselica out of the Federal Assembly. After 1971 he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison. Three years ago, he was again arrested, allegedly because of tax evasion. In the meantime, he supported himself by selling greeting cards on Zagreb's Republic Square, by selling handbags, fishing, etc. He has five children—four daughters and a son. He has a year and a half of work seniority. He has social insurance by virtue of an employed spouse.

Although he says that before the election Tudjman promised him a high government position, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, who was physically thrown out of the Assembly several days ago, represents the strongest opponent of Tudjman's policy and, indeed, the only true Croatian opposition. He received me in his apartment, suffering somewhat from a recent attack of asthma, with a bit of reserve both toward Belgrade and toward DUGA. He asked me what I was. When I said I was a Yugoslav, but a Serb and a Serbian patriot at that, he asked me: "With a dagger, or without a dagger?" That was his trick, naturally, and in a friendly way, with his occasional witticisms, we continued our conversation.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Several days ago members of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Society] threw you out of the Assembly. Is it true that you were carrying a pistol then? What is indeed the substance of the clash between you and the HDZ?

[Cicak] I am known as a man who doesn't carry any kind of weapon. I even refused to carry a service pistol. It's written in the report that, upon entering the Assembly hall, I was searched; after that I went into a restaurant. If I had been carrying a pistol, it would have been taken from me during the search. When I went inside, they displayed an offensive arrogance. They sent two policemen in civilian clothes who asked me to leave. This is an act of state terrorism, of arrogance, of overbearing behavior, full of hatred, and I think all European forums for human rights will be informed about it. It is a precedent for the leader of a party, who has representatives in the assembly, to be thrown out. Let's say they asked Brandt to leave the Bundestag. You're not a representative any more, so please leave! That would be funny if it weren't serious. They are seriously working on rebolshevizing Croatia instead of working on democratizing it. Whoever attacked the Communist Party was an enemy, and now whoever attacks the HDZ is an enemy too. Now the HDZ is identified with Croatia; I don't accept this at all.

Hunt for Tigers

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Is it true that you must now speak for Serbian newspapers because the HDZ disputes you, and recommends that you watch where you walk in the dark because anything could happen to you?

[Cicak] I'm used to walking around the city alone, even at night. I have a great physical shortcoming in life; I don't have the feeling of fear. My opponents know this, because they were together with me in prison. They know that I am not taken in by their threats. Who among my adversaries was with me in jail? Who wasn't? From Tudjman to all the others. Nevertheless, there exists some prison solidarity, about which you speak. So some people inform me in advance about what they're planning. It is true that they don't like me, but we'll see about their plans later. Nothing happened to Trotsky when he lived in the Soviet Union.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Do you picture yourself as the Croatian Trotsky?

[Cicak] I don't consider myself the Croatian Trotsky; that's the way they label me. They say I'm a rebel without a cause, that I'm always against, etc. However, no one refutes my criticisms. I speak with them exclusively on the basis of arguments.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] How would you define these few months of the Croatian democracy? To what extent is it really a democracy?

[Cicak] I think that they disappointed themselves first. They have shown themselves to be incapable and they are increasingly aware of this weakness. What have they decided, except to change the flags? However, beef soup is still more nourishing than the Croatian flag. Or the Serbian one! Therefore, soup with a strip of the Croatian flag is very unappetizing, but with beef it's something else. We live today only to wave banners; and not to get involved with social problems at all. And I warned back in the preelection campaign of the problems that would occur. You'll just see what happens by the New Year. Especially if there's a harsh winter!

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Do you mean to say that there's already some sort of longing for communism in Croatia?

[Cicak] There's the story about the tiger. A hundred hunters are necessary to catch the tiger alive. Then it's put in a cage and they take it to the zoo. In the meantime, it atrophies, the muscles weaken, its teeth begin to loosen, and you throw it meat to eat. With regard to the market economy, the zoo goes bankrupt, and you feel sorry for it, you return it again to the jungle. The wretched thing doesn't know how to hunt because it forgot, because it got used to having someone else feed it, and it returns to the cage by itself.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] To what extent, in your opinion, have the basic postulates of this democracy, about which so much has been said and which all have waited so long for, been betrayed?

[Cicak] They have been betrayed a lot more than in Serbia, but Serbia's alibi is that there have been no multiparty elections there yet. I think the basic problem is that we have not succeeded in overcoming the mental monistic model that we inherited, but I see the biggest

problem within the HDZ, in the fact that they bought too many old communist cadres, I mean communists who were just that, right up to yesterday, and who now are showing their pro-Croatian, HDZ radicalism. Thereby they are proving that they have much more radical views than those who conceived them in the first place, whom I call Croatian emotionalists, who did this for noble reasons. Do they do this for career reasons? In any case, you always have to be afraid of a convert. In the Catholic church they knew that quite well, since they are much more dangerous than those who have always been there. Those who have always been there are used to it like a donkey is used to a packsaddle. And they deceive the purists and want to prove themselves.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] You were in Knin until yesterday; what did you do there?

[Cicak] That "Helsinki" commission, which was in Kosovo, was there. Tanja Petovar called me from Belgrade, since whenever these commissions come I offer them technical service, everything they need, so I went with them to Knin for talks. The old story was repeated again; Mr. Babic was busy and couldn't attend, since he was intensely drinking two coffees in another room and didn't show up at all. Later, when I left, he invited me to exchange greetings with him. I went because I'm a cultured man; I was born in Zagreb and wear a bow tie, although I'm a farmer at heart.

I think that should be divulged once and for all: Actually, what is being talked about is not background, because human rights are being spoken about—the threat of the Serbs. A simple concept of the destruction of Croatian territory is involved which is not only greater Serbian, it's greater Yugoslav, better yet, it's the result of totalitarian optics, which, indeed, with the aid of the Croatian problem, are attempting to maintain the old status of things.

A Map of Greater Serbia

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Do you mean this type of Yugoslavia, the way it is?

[Cicak] Not only this type of Yugoslavia, the way it is; its aim is really the expansion of Greater Serbia under extreme circumstances.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Whom do you see specifically behind this?

[Cicak] Defeated political forces on the Yugoslav scene. Some are differentiated in that they are always still romantic Yugoslavs, while some have formed as Greater Serbs.

I have heard of this map in DUGA, but look, it's clear that two years of waging a campaign are involved, that the feelers of this campaign reach very far from Serbia.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Shall we return to the Knin region?

[Cicak] ...There are no special troops anywhere there. When you come to Knin from any direction—I came from the direction of Split—Serbs with automatic rifles await you. Then they stop you. When asked why they're guarding the road, they said that emigrants were coming. One of the arguments that are frequently cited on the Croatian political scene, is that the Serbs are resisting because they're losing their privileges. However, Serbs who live in the Knin Region don't have privileges, they really don't have anything to lose, but those who lead them can lose their privileges. All the leaders in Knin are former communists. They were asked whether they were members of the Communist Party. Babic was president of the Knin communists at the party congress. That's what it's about. And one Mr. Kulusic, you saw him in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA on the title page, he's a good old Serbian nationalist from my times, from the 1970's, when the communists were chasing him and me together. The same ones who are in power today in Knin. We who have always been Serbian and Croatian nationalists quickly agree. We who have not converted. We had a problem in 1971: he's a veterinarian. One, another, and a third were chasing him, like me. The government fears humanity most of all.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] When you went to Knin for the first time they received you with doubt and saw you off with ovations?

[Cicak] That always happens. When I come among HDZ members, they greet me with whistles, and see me off with ovations. My good school friend from back in the student days, the reporter Danko Plevnik, said in his interview in RIJECKI NOVI LIST: If they brought Cicak to the gallows and if he asked to give a speech as his last wish, he certainly wouldn't be hanged.

I said then that the economic and business interest of Serbs in Croatia is very long-term, since there are only 200,000 of them in that region. As a state, they can't live alone, and that's clear to everyone. The creation of such a region, a region-state, is madness and it's really funny, since it's a state in which they would die of hunger. What would they eat—stones, beech trees, the woods? One can't live according to the principle of natural resources. Those are not serious things. A state must be based on some economic, political, and geostrategical legalities. According to this, I can dream that I'm the Japanese czar, but I have one big shortcoming—I'm not Japanese.

I don't have blue blood, but I drink my fill of ink and I solved the problem. As to Serbs in Croatia, that's another story. I think that not enough consideration is given to their behavior and how this has an effect on the behavior toward other Serbian citizens in Croatia, because the fact that the largest Serbian city in Croatia is Zagreb must be considered. In truth, many people complain that they have troubles: as if we are primitive groups. But that happens everywhere. That happens in Macedonia between Macedonians and Albanians, and in Slovenia and everywhere. A nation is not made up of angels, but of people, and people are of flesh and blood.

Therefore, I hear people, friends, reacting. And you know the psychosis: When this conflict between peoples is created, people feel uneasy because they aren't guilty for what's happening in Knin, but others think that they are guilty. I have a neighbor who's afraid, she's withdrawing, she doesn't go out, but I act the same as before toward her. What others say doesn't mean anything to me.

Traitor to the Croatian People

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What view do they have of you in Zagreb? Does there exist a view of you as a traitor to the Croatian people?

[Cicak] Only those who are really traitors to the Croatian people were able to say that. I was a Croat when they were servants of the regime and dogs. I have always taken Croatian positions since 1966 when some of the fine Croats of that time put me on trial and participated in my arrest...In 1971, both as arresters and as witnesses, and the last time was two and one half years ago. Therefore, what those fools are babbling doesn't excite me at all.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] When you add it all up, how long were you in jail?

[Cicak] Something over three years.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What then, from your point of view, has it meant to be a real Croat?

[Cicak] Something similar to what it is to me today; there's no difference. Only the atmosphere has been different. At that time there were those of us who had declared ourselves to be Catholics and Croats. That was equivalent to a crime, to national betrayal. Just as today, as soon as someone says something critical about Croatia, he's proclaimed a national traitor. But that says more about those people than about us. Therefore, the systems are changing, but we're remaining the same, just because we're the same and we think that we are living a truth that is not only momentary, but somewhat long-term, and even has some metaphysical strongpoints.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] They have attacked you as being an adventurer, a plotter, an advocate of putsches, a slanderer, and that you pilfered for yourself an alleged \$40,000 from members of the Croatian Peasants Party in Australia?

[Cicak] Very simply: Those who attack me are following the contemporary history of Croatia over the past 25 years very poorly. They must know that whoever moves against me must lose.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What is it that made the HDZ, when it appeared, so powerful in relation to other parties and to yours, which also has Croatia in the name and also has a tradition?

[Cicak] Primarily, they had an advantage at the start. For example, Tudjman had a travel permit much earlier than

we did; we received passports only in February of this year—after almost 20 years. While he could nevertheless go out, he could purchase funds which are most important for politics, create the illusion of the sole Croatian fighter, and when we went out, we faced very unfavorable things. I was in Canada after him; it was necessary to show people that things were not the way they'd been portrayed. Gotovac, Golstajn and I were there at the same time; Ante Kovacevic was from the Croatian Democratic Party. And we equally heard very ugly things about everything there. They were more accepting of the old system than we, because of our pedigree.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Who from that old system, in your opinion, decided who is more sympathetic to whom, and who less?

[Cicak] I intentionally don't want to answer this question for you, but one day I shall. There aren't doubts just about me any more, there are some serious indications.

Who Stands Behind Tudjman

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Certainly there was some secret plan about the HDZ's coming to power.

[Cicak] I didn't say that. That could be said about some limited help by some friends, or old loves, etc. The one who was loudest, the most emotional, the most Croatian, won. This is the result of the suppression of national feelings during all these long years, which made people craving for banners, for flags...

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What do you think about the accusations that are already being made against some programs in Serbia, that they want to sell Serbia at a low price?

[Cicak] It is better that they sell it cheaply than not to sell it at any price, or sell it for nothing. These are general remarks, they aren't Serbian or Croatian, they're typically European. Now you have such a case in East Germany. But a phenomenon has occurred, and that is that Western capital does not want to buy those factories even for little money, since it is much more profitable for them to build new ones than to repair these old ones.

By my estimate 300,000 people will be without work in Croatia, and Serbia will be even more dramatically shaken. You Serbs will pay in such a bloody way for errors in policies which your wise politicians have formulated, that you will be sobering up from it for a long time. I am constantly repeating that other Yugoslav peoples have nothing to do but put their hands in their pockets, smoke cigars and watch how Serbia reduces itself within the borders of the Belgrade pashadom, above all through the inconceivable, crazy politics which fascinate me. I will predict to you, when I give you my interview in two years, that with the culmination of Milosevic, I will speak of stronger autonomous processes in Montenegro, in Vojvodina, in Kosovo. I foresaw that happening. Therefore, the result of the policy whereby little Jovica sees that the whole world hates him, will be that he will remain alone in his own...If relevant political

forces are not created urgently in Serbia, this is what will happen. I also see an equal danger in all the other republics and regions. They will carry out their concept based on hatred toward others, and not on love toward their people and openness and love toward others.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] How would you define "dissident" today in Croatia? Does this category exist at all?

[Cicak] There now exists some sort of democratic awareness. Let's debate it through the newspapers. VJESNIK and television have imposed their rule on it, but SLO-BODNA DALMACIJA hasn't, DANAS hasn't.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Don't you think that HDZ members imposed their rule on DANAS?

[Cicak] What do you mean? Don't be funny! They would burn it on the street sooner than I would, if they could. You in Serbia evidently have just one opinion, and that is that everyone is in the Ustashi here, starting from Stipa Stunar to insignificant me.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] No, that's not correct!

[Cicak] All right, don't think that we're involved in butchery, but certainly in gassing and electrocuting. Like our concept is a little different.

The Greeting Card Salesman From Zagreb

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Could you draw a parallel between the needs of the media in Serbia and Croatia?

[Cicak] Television absolutely belongs to the HDZ. With a Croatian sign, that sounds nicer, somehow. VJESNIK even more. I think that it is already reaching the enviable level of POLITIKA sometimes, which I now see has begun to liberate itself a little since the pre-election campaign is coming, and they're afraid they'll lose seats.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Can you say something about that time, about 1971?

[Cicak] I've done everything in life. I've sold books, greeting cards. I've worked as a fisherman, as a farmer. I've survived, and I have a year and a half of work seniority. They arrested me, but I really don't want to talk about these things. Jail in itself is a terrible thing. Let's not behave like communists. We are going to capitalize on our suffering now. Let's speak about our current capabilities. I am not in Croatian politics because I was in prison, but because I am very talented in politics. At least others say so. But, on the other hand, in jest, what is a biography nowadays without two or three years in jail? That's not talking seriously. Think about how great the difference is between Vuk Draskovic and me. While I was in prison, he was director of the cabinet for the first shoemaker of Yugoslavia.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] What, in your opinion, is the role of the leader of the Croatian and Serbian people?

[Cicak] As a result of the inherited model and concept, the role of the leader is still very important on Yugoslav territory. I realized this just after the elections. I immediately went to my party with a democratic approach. That's just not always advisable. What's obvious is: People need a leader, a deity in whom they can confide about their problems and their condition in life. Only with the development of democratic relations will the role of the leader be increasingly smaller.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] What do you think of Vuk Draskovic?

[Cicak] I think that he offers a totalitarian concept of politics. I have said in interviews that today I don't see relevant forces on the Serbian political scene that would be politically democratic, that would offer a democratic concept. Because the greater Serbian concept—is also not democratic.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] And the Democratic Party?

[Cicak] They aren't relevant. They are somewhat like the Croatian Peasants Party, a small party. The relevant parties now are Draskovic, Milosevic and Ante Markovic.

In Draskovic's themes, in which he speaks about the Croats as jackals, he's in fact speaking about himself. He can talk like that only in some Serbian province, but he then lowers that province to a province at the lowest level too.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Don't you think that there's been some reciprocity there nevertheless? In Croatia they've spoken about Serbs as simpletons and murderers.

[Cicak] I've never said so. To be sure, I can speak only for myself, and I've always condemned anyone who's talked like that. You won't hear me saying: Chetniks, both these and those. That's inappropriate, because you've got to sit down at the negotiating table with those Chetniks, and murderers, too, and converse with them as equals. While they spoke about the Serbian Democratic Party as one of Chetniks, bandits, terrorists, and murderers, representatives of the HDZ and the Serbian Democratic Party found themselves in talks two days later.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Why do you constantly point out that you're a believer and a Catholic?

[Cicak] That's considered normal everywhere in the world. And here, when people see that, then they think: Well look, here something is not right! And I say that I am a believer and I am a Catholic.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] What is the Catholic Church's attitude toward you?

[Cicak] The Catholic Church has had a rather negative attitude toward the Croatian Peasants Party: that it has a democratic-Christian orientation, but that it is anticlerical. I believe that it is normal that because of this, a part

of the church today is well disposed toward the new Croatian government's political clericalism which finds religion to be convenient.

I'm a Democrat

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] How would you describe the basic characteristics of this new Croatian political clericalism?

[Cicak] Most briefly, Croatianism has been converted into a religion which has then become a religious world view, instead of being a political orientation, so then you must be a Croat by religion, and here a Croat is a Croat. You must believe only in that and in nothing else. You may not doubt, for doubt is the beginning of betrayal, and I'm not saying anything of being critical, which is equal to a crime. Instead of getting a national affiliation, as a result of ethnic affiliation and human orientation, we got it as a new religious category and a political orientation, a profession, a hobby and everything. Otherwise, I should have been a craftsman by profession. Now I'm a politician, since they're not letting me be a professor. I'm a Croat by nationality, but by political orientation I'm not a Croat.

By political orientation I'm a democrat.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What is your attitude toward the so-called supranational Yugoslavism on which the party of Ante Markovic depends so much?

[Cicak] I think it's a strange category today, because it's a category without some real base. Therefore, if they want to simulate an ethnic category, they must have the characteristics of an ethnic orientation.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Several times you have mentioned my bloodthirstiness and that of the Serbs. Do I make such an impression? What kind of relation do you have with the Serbian places of execution in Croatia?

[Cicak] There are only places of execution, and both the Serbian and the Croatian ones are the same, and I don't separate them. Dead men do not divide themselves into Croats and Serbs, they divide themselves into victims of crimes. I see them only this way. But what connects them is that they died by the same insane hand, which could be Croatian, Serbian, German or something else. Madness destroys all borders. Therefore, it's very sad to hear how Serbs trade with their dead. That political business is the most abominable.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Don't the Croats also trade by constantly reducing the number of victims in the Jasenovac camp?

[Cicak] The Serbs claim that, so it's not only for the Croats to argue about it, but also the historians, among whom are Croats. What's strange is that some Serbs have tried to raise that number. It grows like mushrooms after the rain, so don't wonder if it grows to 5 million. That is not a serious way of talking about history. Worst of all is that all victims of Jasenovac were very painstakingly recorded and have been in the archives of Croatia since

the war, so why not publish them. But they won't publish them because they constantly want to manipulate the number of victims. I'll say one thing to you. The Vatican, when it presents its view on something, it does not want to revise its views, so it never makes a hasty decision. And the church has incontestable figures on this.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Why aren't those figures shown to the public?

[Cicak] That interests me too. Doesn't it seem strange to you that when the regime was overturned, no one worked to rehabilitate people who were victims of that regime. From Stepinac to me? This is the information that points to who was involved in those massacres, from all sides, but many of those murderers are still in some structures of the government, from the federal to the republic. They are very powerful and hold so-called shadow positions.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Do you, as a Croat, consider that the matter of bidding on the number of victims and trading on the dead could be brought to a close if the Croatian government went out and bowed like Brandt to the victims?

[Cicak] If they did that on Serbian demands I would spit. You should go out there. I did it and was in Kragujevac myself in 1971, in Sumarica, where those young people were killed. When someone prays for the dead, then he prays for the dead, and not because of politics. Therefore, leave it that in normal political situations in which such magic spells will not be used to lower some or raise others, that it be done in a manner fitting of us.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] The whole story about World War II, about "graves of another kind," is it an attempt to present this as Serbian revenge?

[Cicak] I will have to disappoint you, because in Jazovec, Croats slaughtered. As for the story on Serbian revenge, thank Sima Dubajic, thank Koca Popvic for it, and Kosta Nadj, and Milan Basta.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What kind of relationship do you have with the Ustashi?

[Cicak] The same as with the Chetniks. In this case I leave the thing to history to render its verdict about it.

These are people who were victims of a certain system created by their own mistakes and the pathological state of their awareness. However, we can't put them all into the same basket. As not all Chetniks were criminals, neither were all Ustashi criminals. If you take a an 18-year old youth and dress him in a uniform, he will be a communist, or a Chetnik or Ustashi criminal. So he'll be whatever those who recruit him first makes him.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] How do you view the attempt to reevaluate the picture of Draza Mihailovic in certain Serbian newspapers?

[Cicak] All that you're citing is indisputable. He was all that, but he was also something else besides. Thus, for the Ustashi, we can also say that they were something else.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Draza's movement up to 1943 was an antifascist movement. This is not something that I claim, this is something that many now claim now.

[Cicak] I spoke with Nora Belof one day about that. As to that reevaluation of history, I think that we are now too warm for the verdict of history. Especially since people are leading it who are personally interested in embellishing some people or movements or downgrading others. I think that we need, nevertheless, a greater distance in time for that.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Why are the labels of the fascist and the nationalist placed on you?

[Cicak] Ask that of those who have stuck such labels on me. What are you asking me?

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Do you find anyone in Serbian politics who could be your counterpart?

[Cicak] I think you won't be lucky to have such a man as I am.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What is your attitude toward Islam?

[Cicak] I am one of the few people who, as a catholic, financed the construction of the Zagreb mosque. I will also finance the construction of a Jewish synagogue, if I have the opportunity. This is a duty of mine: My father, incidentally, is Bosnian by birth. He lived in an area where there were many Muslims. He had a normal relationship with them and I think that such a relationship should be built. We'll give people either mosques or knives! And I am for the former! But in Belgrade they're not allowing that yet, it seems. Therefore, Serbian politics itself is offering Muslims the knife. Let them offer them mosques, and we'll see how the Muslims react.

A Secret Dinner With the Minister of Police

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Does the typical Croatian soul oppose the construction of a mosque in a real Croatian city, such as Zagreb?

[Cicak] I am obviously an atypical Croat in everything.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] You organized that secret dinner between Jovan Raskovic and Boljkovac?

[Cicak] Yes, because it was my wish that we meet together. That dinner was agreed upon. They knew that they would find each other there. Mesic and Manovic were also supposed to come, but the Assembly meeting lasted until 0030, so they didn't make it. Boljkovac called before me to inform Mesic to come.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Did Raskovic speak then at all about Slobodan Milosevic?

[Cicak] If I had heard it, I would say that I didn't hear.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Have the leaders of Croatia today embraced privileges in the same way the communists did?

[Cicak] The answer stems from the question you posed, and not I. I will only tell you that Gordana Grbic has a salary as president of a council in the Assembly of 37 billion, that's over 5,000 German marks [DM]. This means that Domjen must have at least 50 billion, and Tadjman DM10,000.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] What would happen if your party was in the next elections and you were leader?

[Cicak] That would be a catastrophe for me.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Why?

[Cicak] The government would destroy me, as it's destroying all the other people.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] This means that you nevertheless have an understanding of all who are in power?

[Cicak] Perhaps up to a certain limit. A man must understand that that's what happens with people when they come to power.

I would be Croatian ambassador in Belgrade. We would thus have opportunities to see each other frequently.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Would you be able to live in Belgrade?

[Cicak] If I could live in Lepoglava, why couldn't I live in Belgrade?

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] I can't allow you to compare that beautiful city with Lepoglava?

[Cicak] You certainly wear glasses with a high dioptr. One of the basic errors in the development of Belgrade is that they went too much to an adventurer's megalomania, which some intend to do in Zagreb today, but they haven't developed the whole city area. Thus when you turn off the highway to Dedinje, everything is all right, but when you drop lower, among those shacks, then you see a horror.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] You didn't answer me as to whether you would live in Belgrade.

[Cicak] I would.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] Under what circumstances, since I see that you have a mocking attitude toward Serbs?

[Cicak] Like toward Croats too, incidentally.

[Bobic-Mojsilovic] I didn't notice. You haven't said anything mocking about Croats.

[Cicak] If you want it like that, I think the same of them as of Serbs! Balkan tribes, dinaric, which only change the sign. They're all otherwise Indians. I call them Dinaric

Indians. In some places they call them Bosancerosi, in some places Serbijenosi, Hercegovinians, but they're all Indians.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] What is your political prognosis?

[Cicak] I'm joking and teasing. Otherwise, I can tell you that I'm afraid of civil war, and throughout all of Yugoslavia too, because that would be a massacre, but that which I nevertheless fear the most is a military strike.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Do you think there are chances of that?

[Cicak] Right now there are. Some people can't let go of positions of power so easily, and some are even meeting secretly and making agreements. Everything is not so nice as it looks.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] Where would that civil war begin?

[Cicak] I think that it would be primarily in Bosnia. Just look at Macedonia, because of the results of the elections, and now imagine it in Bosnia. Some will rise up, and then others, and still others.

[Bobic-Mojasilovic] What is your Christian advice to all of us?

[Cicak] Although I am idiotic like this, I am constantly speaking about the need for peace. For people to respect the right of others not to be in the right, and that's the most important thing. Let's say I respect the stand of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and write for them. Serbia's greatest problem is really that it has lost something which I call the true Christian soul. There's a man there whom I exceptionally regard, whose name is Irinej Bulovic. He is a bishop in Novi Sad. I'm thinking about the return of Christian values in all spheres of life, not in the sense of clericalization, but the return to the spiritual values of the Serbian people. It's a problem, and I think it's really the essential problem of Serbia: The breakdown of the internal moral identity of Serbia. Then from this breakdown of moral identity we go to the spreading of hatred and not to the gathering of love. How much wiser would be a policy that tried somehow to establish a dialogue and communications between neighbors instead of digging up a battle axe with everyone.

Raskovic on Fate, Fears of Serbs in Croatia

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[Article by Dr. Jovan Raskovic: "What DANAS Does Not Dare To Publish"]

[Text] Serbo-Croatian relations represent a special category of international relations without precedent on the broadest historial scales.

Croatian political thought has not changed in the last 130 years. When the old Croatian politician Dr. Ante

Starcevic, whom today's Croats regard as the "father of the homeland," proposed the idea that Serbs in Croatia were a "disruptive factor" in the creation of a Croatian state and the formation of a Croatian national being, both the internal and external circumstances were quite different. From that time to today, from Starcevic to Tudjman, that thought has not changed. At various times and under various circumstances, that thought has determined activity against Serbs in Croatia.

Starcevic confirms: "You are worth far more than others and especially more than the Vlach pigs," and continues: "They are slave stock (he means Serbs, J. R.'s note), a beast more loathsome than any other. Let's take three levels of perfection in a man: the level of an animal, the level of reason, the level of intelligence and spirituality. The Slavic Serbs have not completely reached even the lowest level; they cannot raise themselves from it. These are the brown slaves of Europe, Asia and Africa. By nature, all Slavic Serbs are for slavery, for every evil, for everything that is bad, the same way as all pigs are for mud." These are excerpts taken from his "conversations" in 1868.

Starcevic continues: "Serbs are breeding stock ripe for the axe."

It's not difficult to establish a direct connection between Ante Starcevic and Ante Pavelic. The Ustashi accepted the proposal about the axe. In truth, they added both the mallet and the knife to it too.

The Ustashi crime is spiritually based on this anti-Serbian paranoia of Starcevic's. His writings classify him as the first true, authentic teacher of genocide in Europe.

The Ustashi crime is specific. There are essential differences between Nazi and Ustashi genocide.

Nazi genocide is characterized by a special type of "rational delirium." The delirious destruction of large national groups carries reification in its foundations. Victims are created, they aren't human beings, they are destroyed like old, unnecessary things. All this is carried out precisely, strictly, in a highly organized way and without passion. It was a large industry of death, technological and mechanized.

The Ustashi mass crime is another kind of "rational delirium." Genocide against the Serbian people does not assume the characteristic of reification. A neighbor murders his neighbor and his neighbor's children. The motivation is, naturally, irrational. It is genocide of passion. Thus the crimes are tyrannical and humiliating, crude, exceptional, and monstrous. That dimension of passion is a kind of paradox in the categorization of rational insanity.

Rational delirium is present in the preparations and organization of the Ustashi movement. The procedure for destroying Serbs is a delirium unto itself. In it there is paranoia induced by Mr. Starcevic.

Croatian intellectuals did not orient themselves to the Ustashi genocide, but Croatian historians attempted to downplay and completely deny genocide against the Serbian people. The Serbian people have understood this covering up and downplaying as an invitation to repetition.

Tudjman was a small, unknown historian. His main preoccupation was revealed to be a clear reduction in the number of Serbian victims of genocide. Thus Serbs in Croatia regard Tudjman as a man who supports the historical repetition of genocide.

Here are some sentences on Starcevic's idea of a greater Croatian state:

That state, in his opinion, would encompass territory from Zemun outside Belgrade, along the Sava and Drina to Bojana, since according to Starcevic "red Croats" lived in Montenegro. The idea of a "Croatian bulge," which Mr. Tudjman has constantly repeated, especially in prelection speeches, is based on old nonsense. The continuity of anti-Serbian and Croatocentrist political thought is nonsense in and of itself. Starcevic considered that the entry of Serbs into such a spacious state would be a "decoration," since they would become the bottom of "aristocratic" Croatia, a higher race, endowed with all superior virtues, chivalry, courage and by heritage descending from the Romans and Goths, and "not from Slavs or Slav slaves."

According to this theory, a great, broad transformation into aristocratic Croats would be left to the Serbs. If this did not occur, Starcevic also had other means of extermination. He proclaimed Serbs to be human swine, a mob of criminals, murderers, thieves, spies, plotters, rakes. Everyone has the right to exterminate Serbs and open mass graves in the future great Croatia. Serbs were transformed into evil mythical beings, ghastly phantoms, without human characteristics. When it is said that Serbs are a "people ripe for the axe," a spiritual hand with an axe is actually raised against them. As a psychiatrist for many years, I know very well that paranoids are more aggressive toward people who are introduced into their better world as phantoms than to people who have committed some evil against them in life. Starcevic proclaimed a state, the only one in the world whose basis, in the historical period up to now, is collective murder.

Starcevic's Serb-devouring foolishness has had its uneven results.

Croatian youth has been enthralled with Starcevic's policy. There exists, and it has been quoted several times, a document from 1876, when "Croatian youth congratulates the Turkish general Abdul-Kerim Pasha on his victory over Serbia and collects donations for a golden sword which they will send to him as a gift." Vatroslav Jagic, the famous scientist, Slavist, and professor at the University of Vienna, bitterly refused after this congratulatory wish to transfer to the University of Zagreb.

The "father of the homeland" has spiritually and deeply affected a large part of the Croatian people.

The campaign against Serbs has been waged persistently and in a crazed manner for decades in the press, in the Croatian assembly, in political meetings, in national assemblies. Like all other campaigns, this campaign also denies historical truth and reality.

Serbs are tyrannically spoken about as beings without honor or decency. The lesson of this campaign and propaganda can be measured only by Goebbels' lesson. There are testimonies about the behavior of Starcevic officials toward Serbian citizens and peasants. Serbian human rights come up against great obstacles, hostility, humiliation, and condescension. All this also happened in Banja, where Serbs were more than 90 percent of the population, in Petrinj district, where there were more than 50 percent Serbs, and in Lica. Serbs lost their equality, they built their schools themselves and maintained them. Direct persecution of Serbs reached new heights in 1902, especially in Zagreb. In September of that year, and for more than 40 hours, stores of Serbian citizens were continuously and violently set fire to and plundered, and Serbian dwellings were demolished. The Starcevic policy declared war on Serbs.

The well-known trial for high treason provoked new aggressions which lasted from 1908 to 1910. After the Sarajevo assassination, these aggressions were carried out with special violence. Thousands of Serbs were locked up in prisons and camps, which were the forerunners of Nazi and Ustashi camps. Not even holy places of worship were spared. A church in Bosnia was destroyed, and another two were destroyed in Sarajevo and Mostar. The great pillaging of Serbs resumed. Trecic-Pavicic, that honorable man, a Croat, and emissary to the Vienna Parliament, presented this information to Parliament.

Hatred and hostility also reigned in these areas earlier. Starcevic usurped everything that was brilliant and good in the Serbian people. He proclaimed both Kraljevic Marko and czar Dusan Croats.

Thus no one should be angered by the distrust of the Serbian people in Croatia evident in today's new Croatian state. The suspicion of the Serbs provokes an emphasized continuity in very official places between "the father of the homeland," his spirituality and current Croatian spirituality [as published]. The Serbian people have a deep distrust of the Croatian state, which ties its spirituality to bestial spirituality, a spirituality of Starcevic's paranoia, and a still more bestial spirituality of the Independent State of Croatia.

The development of events has shown that the expectations of the Serbian people in Croatia have been confirmed. The Croatian Parliament has become an obstacle for this kind of democratic idea and the aspirations to freedom of the Serbian people in Croatia. A new tyranny, established in Croatia, is unknown in Europe; thus the Serbian people in Croatia are waging a battle for their rights, freedom and democracy.

The Serbian people in Croatia live under very difficult conditions and are subjected, I would say, to three types of aggression:

1. Instrumental aggression which suppresses their national being and negates it in Croatia. This is the aggression of the new Croatian state toward the Serbian people.

2. Systematic aggression of all Croatian institutions and all Croatian political parties in order. First of all is the parliamentary tyranny of Serbophobia and devouring of Serbs. The total control of a repressive system of all groups of Serbian people has been established. This is the control of information, the control of all attempts to establish a national being of the Serbian people in Croatia.

3. Widespread aggression is the most dangerous, the most arrogant and with the most serious consequences. Serbs on the streets, at workplaces, in factories, in offices, banks, hospitals and even in courts are the innocent victims. Some of the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party have been subjected to attacks, petitions are signed in cities, and death threats are sent. The signing of such petitions represents a ritual of actual killing with clear sadistic statements.

There are no such types of mistreatment and persecution in Europe today, and perhaps in the world. This third aggression is an aggression of conscience and is much more difficult than the first two. Its source is in an aggressive conscience, which the Croatian Democratic Society is spreading. When Serbs are in question, then there is no opposition among other Croatocentrist parties.

Tragic things are happening today in Croatia. A new tyranny unknown on European soil has been created in Croatia. It seems that the Independent State of Croatia has reawakened and been resurrected.

Recent actions against the Serbian people in Croatia, especially in Petrinja, Glina and Dvor na Uni, border on genocide. Children and old people have been persecuted. People are fleeing from their homes, as in 1941, to the mountains, camps, and to neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The ethnically pure Croatian police, armed to the teeth and reminiscent of the infamous SS troops, are exerting pressure on the Serbian people in these areas.

The Serbian people in the Knin area, in Lica and in Kordun have erected barricades on the main thoroughfares, interrupting vehicle and rail traffic. As a result of this, the northern part of Croatia is isolated from the southern part. This will continue until all prisoners are freed and until police units, similar to the Ustashi's, stop entering areas where Serbian people live.

According to the latest newspaper reports, a large concentration of Croatian police forces is gathered around Knin. Serbs are prepared to defend themselves although

the Croatian forces are numerically superior. Serbs are prepared to fight for their freedom, civil rights, and dignity.

It has been left to Serbs to organize democracy and freedom themselves. In Srb they held their independent Serbian Assembly with 150,000 Serbs present who had responded to an announcement released only two days before the Assembly. A National Council of Serbs in Croatia was also formed in Srb, a type of independent government of the Serbian people in Croatia. The National Council proclaimed the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia and made the decision to organize a plebiscite of the Serbian people in Croatia on the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia.

At the plebiscite, 600,000 Serbs who live in Croatia voted for the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. Moreover, 150,000 Serbs who were born in Croatia but live all over Yugoslavia voted for autonomy. The plebiscite took place without great difficulty, except in large cities. The Serbian people in Croatia are going en masse to the polls and confirming their trust in the Serbian Democratic Party and are supporting autonomy without reservation. After these events the government in Croatia was not what it was earlier. The Serbian people triumphed.

But victory was temporary.

The autonomy of Serbs in Croatia represents the core of the program of the Serbian Democratic Party. If Yugoslavia remains a federative state, the Serbian people in Croatia will be satisfied with cultural autonomy, but if there is no Yugoslavia, we will demand territorial autonomy.

The proclamation of Serbian autonomy in Croatia presupposes political and territorial rights in the territory in which Serbs represent the majority. The proclamation is based on a democratic vote. No one, including the Croatian government, has the right to interfere in this democratic process.

In the near future, Serbs will form their government in the autonomous area. The Serbian people will not be frightened by the brutal actions of the Croatian police directed at preventing political and territorial autonomy.

The actions of the Serbian people will not destabilize the Croatian government, but it will destabilize the Ustashi movement which has again been established within the so-called democratic Croatia. This Croatia is not democratic, nor is it concealing its spiritual ties with the former genocidal Independent State of Croatia.

In order to justify these actions against the Serbian people in Croatia, the Croatian government is declaring that the movement of the Serbian people in Croatia is an act of Milosevic and his group, who are still Marxists. They are claiming that Milosevic is doing it in order to divert attention from Kosovo. In fact, the events in Croatia have no connection with what is happening in Serbia.

It is completely clear to us that the new historical agreement on the internal organization of Yugoslavia can be achieved only by legitimately elected representative bodies of each Yugoslav people separately. However, the Serbian people in Croatia, this must be clear to everyone, is judging the Croatian government in relation to Yugoslavia. We consider that the federal organization of Yugoslavia can be brought into harmony with the basic principles of democracy only in the case of equality of federal units and equality of citizens as individuals. Since a new Croatian state is set up under the new Croatian Constitution, because of historical and civil reasons the Serbian people in Croatia consider that it is necessary to add the following paragraph to the Croatian Constitution:

—It is necessary to assure constitutional opportunities for territorial autonomy to be created in the framework of individual federal units, so that the population in territories with a separate ethnic structure or cultural-historical identity can decide this by referendum.

Regardless of the scorn of cynical disqualification such as "the beam of revolution," a rebellious territory has been created which has seceded and which can no longer be subjugated by force of arms. They must negotiate and come to an agreement with it. It is not satisfactory to conclude that they are dealing with highway robbers. It is necessary to conduct serious negotiations and discussions. Agreements between the Serbian people and the Croatian government eliminate the inevitability of civil war. They shouldn't hurry with the Constitution, they should negotiate with the Serbian people in Croatia. Moreover, the Croatian people have nine centuries of experience in negotiating with Hungarians about their rights in a joint state. That Croatia is in the position of Hungary, where Serbs are concerned, and Serbs in Croatia are in the position that Croats were in vis-a-vis Hungary, represents a new moral obligation of a people who know very well historically that only through negotiations and agreements can equality of two peoples who live in the same country be achieved.

The constitutional haste has been directed against Serbian people in Croatia so, therefore, it has also cheated the Serbian people in Croatia. This situation is difficult, but all bridges have not been destroyed. Negotiations, discussions, agreements, and treaties are necessary. All of us in Croatia must be patient, we must refrain from hurrying. This is a historical moment in which we must extinguish all our passions and hatreds.

The Serbian Democratic Party is open to discussions. Unilateral decisionmaking is very dangerous and will certainly lead to destruction of the Croatian and Serbian essence. New Croatian governments must comprehend and acknowledge their own errors toward the Serbian people in Croatia. The dominant psychological condition of the Serbian people in Croatia today is fear of the resumption of genocide. The fact is that he who makes democratic demands cannot carry out a policy of global

Serbophobic activity. This activity certainly includes the intervention of armed police and troops and armored vehicles and frequent spitting on every claim for the benefit of Serbs. Along with a claim for the realization of autonomous aims for Serbs in Croatia, which has been confirmed by democratic plebiscite, the Serbian people in Croatia expect that where a national delirium prevailed, a mutual national reconciliation will take over, and where aggression prevails, patience and tolerance will take over. The Serbian Democratic Party thinks that human blood and every individual human life are worth more than any political or national regime.

(This text by Dr. Jovan Raskovic, which we are publishing in our paper, was written upon the request of the weekly DANAS. The editors of DANAS declined to publish this text.)

Croatian Arms 'Documentary' Detailed

91BA0237A Belgrade *POLITIKA* in Serbo-Croatian
27 Jan 91 pp 6-7

[Transcript of 25 January 1991 Belgrade Television broadcast of documentary film on arming of Croatian Democratic Community members: "Throwing Bombs, Killing..."]

[Text] The key role in the operation to purchase weapons abroad to arm members of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] was played by Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj and Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac, along with former Foreign Minister Zdravko Mrcic.

Their names, along with a characterization of their key role, were emphasized in a half-hour broadcast on the arming of HDZ members, which was broadcast by Belgrade Television the night before last, after the daily news, on Channel One. The film tape, which was prepared by the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] information service and the Zastava Film military film center, was also offered through television exchanges to the other television centers in Yugoslavia.

Minister Spegelj's Secret Meetings

The innermost team for arms purchases abroad also included, according to what was portrayed and said in that broadcast, Marjan Balaban, the head of the Cakovec Public Security Service; Ilija Dodig, the head of the Varazdin State Security Service [SDB] Center; Zeljko Tomljenovic, undersecretary for defense affairs; and Josip Perkovic, undersecretary for state security.

The broadcast, which kept viewers "glued" to the screen, was compiled from authentic video material recorded publicly but also secretly. For that reason some parts of the conversations are harder to hear, and so the narrator repeats them.

Statements made at press conferences by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, in which he stated that HDZ

members were not being armed, were also shown several times during the broadcast. This, however, was followed by secretly recorded conspiratorial conversations that refute this.

The broadcast also showed secret meetings between Minister Spigelj and a couple of younger men. During those conversations in a house, the former commandant of the Fifth Military District, and the present republic defense minister, retired general Martin Spigelj, announced that they were "at war with the army," that "80,000 Kalashnikovs had been bought," and that "Slatina was full of weapons."

Some of the secretly recorded instructions given by the Croatian defense minister sounded frightening, to put it mildly. Thus, on one occasion Spigelj said that when the time came for it, bombs should be thrown into the apartments of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] officers, the members of their families should be killed, and the officers should not be permitted, at any cost, to reach their units alive. The most extreme ones should be killed in the barracks on the spot, right in the stomach, Minister Spigelj advised. The army would be cut to pieces, the former commandant of the Fifth Military District threatened.

The defense minister was also precise in speaking about seizing the guardhouses. All of them should be seized. The prisoners should be locked up, and if the action continues, they should be given food and water. In such cases, soldiers of Albanian nationality should be left five bullets apiece.

The broadcast showed Spigelj saying that the Americans, two days after Slobodan Milosevic's victory in the elections, had offered free aid in the form of transporters and complete weapons for 100,000 soldiers.

The authors of the documentary, however, also used part of the interview that Spigelj gave to Croatian Television, in which the Croatian defense minister said of himself that he was an incorrigible optimist. It is better to negotiate for 10 years than to go to war, Spigelj then advised Croatian television viewers.

Also broadcast was the secretly recorded statement by Minister Spigelj in which he threatened that the residents of Knin would be destroyed.

According to what was broadcast, Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac has a similar view of the Knin problem. In a secretly recorded telephone conversation, he advised an interlocutor unknown to the viewers that he would go to Knin and that he would create an independent state of Croatia at any cost.

Transcript of the Documentary Film

We obtained this transcript as authentic testimony with the assistance of POLITIKA's stenographers who watched the presentation of the documentary on Belgrade television.

"The Leadership Has Not Made One Wrong Move"

Franjo Tudjman: I claim that so far the leadership of Croatia, the new democratic Croatian authority, generally speaking, has not made one wrong move. The resolution of specific issues, in individual places, is another matter.... It is precisely with that kind of policy that we made possible such a democracy that now, caricatures can even be published and frivolous things can be said, and people can even write about Tudjman that he is a Bolshevik and that he is a Yugoslav agent, that he is an Ustasa, and so on. All sorts of things are being written, not only from among the ranks of those who are directly working against us, but also from among the ranks of the opposition parties. And, accordingly, that is what I had to talk about, sir, not just for my own sake, or for the HDZ's sake, but for the sake of Croatia.

Zeljko Mazar: The next thing that I would like to say is that we are uncomfortably surprised by the fact, at least what we are familiar with and know from local experience, that within the framework of the ruling party night watches are being conducted without our knowing the detailed reasons why. In addition to what you told us today, the public news media, public news houses such as television, such as radio, are under strong armed guard.

Tudjman: And as far as arms are concerned, we have not armed the HDZ members.

Ivan Zvonimir Cicak: I am surprised by the fact of the presence of armed personnel in public places, in view of the fact, as I can see today, that the specific reasons why this is so have not been stated. I am also equally surprised by the fact of why weapons are being issued to representatives of certain parties, and why weapons are being issued at all?

Tudjman: We have not been arming the HDZ members. We created a militia, according to the law, according to the Constitution, and we created a reserve militia and armed it, which we likewise have a right to do, so that we would be capable of resisting those who would like to overthrow us.

Martin Spigelj: You are aware that all of these assessments have always started from the fact that there is danger everywhere, up, down, left, right, in the east, and in the west. It has been demonstrated that these were often phantoms or exaggerated and overestimated things. Naturally, even those threats which were perhaps once objective threats, have ceased to be so, because—I will go back to this again—that democratization, and, finally, negotiations and agreements are coming into first place ahead of violence, ahead of all other forces.

Accelerated Arming of the Croatian Army

Narrator: (Explains:)

At the time when the minister was addressing Croatian television viewers, the arming of the illegal HDZ army was being done at a speed which was only one of the indicators that a terrorist army was being formed in

Croatia. When the formal requests for arming the HDZ army were being presented and were in the competent Yugoslav institutions, the Croatian leadership was to initiate the mechanisms for a massive arms build-up from foreign military warehouses.

Republic President Franjo Tudjman and Minister of Internal Affairs Boljkovac established several contacts with arms producers in the world.

The Hungarians were the most sympathetic and threw their military warehouses wide open. As early as 11 October 1990, the first shipment of weapons crossed the Yugoslav-Hungarian border in two Csazmatrans tractor trailers from Bjelovar.

A shipment was sent to the Astra firm in Zagreb from two arms warehouses near Budapest. The contents of the shipment were 450 boxes with over 4,500 Kalashnikov automatic rifles and the necessary quantity of ammunition.

In connection with this, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense sent forceful warnings on two occasions to the Hungarian military authorities reminding them of all the consequences of such behavior which is contrary to all international conventions.

An answer came from Hungary in which it was explained with considerable cynicism that this was ordinary business with which our neighbor's Defense Ministry had nothing to do.

"There Are Rumors..."

Martin Spegelj: Rumors are being spread about how Croatia is rapidly arming itself: For example, that it is buying arms from Hungarians who want to join the NATO pact, and that among the units that are being armed in Croatia the police are being armed most and the most heavily.

Apparently, it was necessary to address the question to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but since we are already talking about all these topics, I am naturally not unaware of what is being said and written in the newspapers and what is being speculated.

However, Spegelj said to his interlocutors at the secret meeting:

Spegelj: The column was at our border...then this minister whom no one knows left with diplomatic passports, he gave them diplomatic passports. They raised the gate.

Voice of the interlocutor: On the other side?

Spegelj: Yes. We whizzed right through. No one saw us. That means that no one even saw our passports, nothing, nothing.... The Hungarian customs officer saw our passports.

Voice: A tall skinny one.

Spegelj: No, that young one, the plump one said, "Spegelj... yes, Mrsic... yes."

They Crossed the Border on 20 October

Narrator: The Hungarians allowed Ministers Spegelj and Mrsic to stay in their country illegally, and the shipment of arms from military warehouses continued with surprising speed. Croatian internal affairs organs were even allowed to accompany the arms convoy on Hungarian territory. On the same night when the preceding conversation took place, eight Csazmatrans tractor trailers with arms and ammunition destined for the HDZ terrorist army crossed our border at about 0200 on the morning of 20 October. Radio Budapest, indirectly stating the official position of the Hungarian authorities, predicted that UN forces would be involved in settling the situation in Yugoslavia.

Obviously, this involves a special form of aggression against our country, which is conducted by systematically arming its most fanatical and most stubborn enemies.

Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj did everything in his power to make the operation for illegally importing arms for terrorist purposes succeed. How else can one explain the fact that a telex from the Federal Customs Administration about possible arms smugglers, sent to our customs officers on our borders with Austria and Hungary, had no effect?

A key role in the operation of illegally importing arms was played by prominent officials of the HDZ and the Croatian Republic: Marjan Balaban, the head of the Cakovec Public Security Service; Ilija Dodig, the head of the Varazdin SDB Center; Zeljko Tomljenovic, undersecretary for defense affairs; Josip Perkovic, undersecretary for state security; Zdravko Mrsic, former foreign minister; Josip Boljkovac, Croatian minister of internal affairs; and Martin Spegelj, Croatian defense minister.

"We Have 80,000 People Armed"

Spegelj (19 October 1990) in a conversation with the pair:

"There are a total of 9,000 noncommissioned officers in the Fifth Army District."

"Yes?"

"There are also military office workers, and musicians, and so forth. That is 9,000 and 18,000 soldiers. That means that on the entire territory of the Fifth Military District...Slovenia, all of Croatia, and part of Bosnia. We now have 80,000 people armed with Kalashnikovs, and so, well, only 10,000 of them are armed."

Interlocutor: Well, what the Christ did you go to Hungary for? Isn't that available here?

Spegelj: Then you're not on top of things, guys. Well, we are at war with them.

Interlocutor: With whom?

Spegelj: With the army.

The narrator explains:

"Minister Spegelj feels that he is quite familiar with the Fifth Military District. His glorious role in breaking up the units that he commanded in the past is contained in the sentence 'We are at war with the army.' He is stating that as the commander of the newly formed Croatian detachments."

The film then continues with a resumption of the personal conversation from 19 October 1990:

"Only this way, if some truck moves through Podravina..."

"Yes?"

"Then the army will be somewhat alarmed; it is necessary to report immediately to the president of the Virovitica executive council. How? Think it up yourselves, even if—a child takes the note. When something is stopped, when a truck is expected, or whatever, then inform the president of the opstina executive council immediately."

"Now, in the next few days?"

"Yes, in the next few days. It will be better that we know than if we don't know.... Where it comes from is not important.... Whatever. It has to be done."

"All right, that is not essential. But for the most part we have solved the problem."

"I am still doubtful—about that. [Expletive deleted.] Slatina is full of weapons among the Croats."

"We know that..."

"But that has been acquired now."

The narrator explains:

"Slatina is full of weapons, the minister says, and they are intended for specially selected Croats throughout the republic. Only the Croatian Republic's opstina secretariats for national defense have been sent a document on secretly reporting on all activities of the JNA on the republic's territory."

Dangerous HDZ Secretary

The HDZ secretary for Virovitica (recorded on 12 November 1990):

"There are four vehicles for the radio station. The radio station has been set up in the old Agroservis mill, where my man is likewise going. There is a telephone line with this staff and through the telephone line we are in contact with everyone, these people of mine and the ones outside..."

"You have everything worked out?"

"Yes, yes, yes... and no one can jam me; it is a closed type, and it operates on a specific frequency. A code has also been designated; if someone gets into our system we will immediately switch over to the code. We know what sort of principle that is based on."

The HDZ secretary, who Spegelj himself says is very dangerous, was completely dedicated to the military organization of his party. This fanatical adherent of the ruling party has a plan to establish a system of radio communications using enterprises' resources, and he anticipated diversions, sabotage, and a password for the approach of the HDZ army.

(Continuation of the 12 November 1990 conversation)

"We also worked out a system for retreating; I dismissed all of them from work. Consequently, they are on sick leave, but they are at my disposal 24 hours a day and they meet every day and every day we analyze things from the start. With all of the units so far that has cost five or six hours... gatherings... alerts both before working hours and after working hours, and at night. We devised places to assemble, I can tell you, and in 32 minutes the last man will have reached me."

Common Goal Is a Greater Croatia

Goran Ribicic, the HDP [Croatian Statehood Movement] and HU [Croatian Mainstay] secretary for Osijek (recorded on 8 December 1990):

"Those plans and similar ones have been drawn up throughout Croatia?"

Goran Ribicic: ...A real right wing that will drive it, yes, a radical right wing that will drive it, and that is public opinion, because he has invested funds, he has invested labor...

The narrator explains:

"The HDP is maintaining direct contacts with the HDZ and contributing to the organizational aggressiveness of the ruling party. Their common goal is a Greater Croatia. The fiercest fighters for the realization of this dream are the members of the HU, the fanatical military wing of the HDZ. The members of this movement, who do not care either about methods or victims, are working to realize the extreme thesis of their ideologue, Maks Luburic, about breaking up Yugoslavia through the dialectics of words and dynamite. Their choice of enemies in that struggle is based on racist criteria and the ideal of pure Croatianness while advocating an Aryan system of chauvinistic extermination."

Secretary Goran Ribicic: As far as post facilities are concerned... That would be the thrust that would enter their facilities. Another armed group should not exist if we have begun there. We have to eliminate them; not just the Osijek units, but also all the rest, several hundred actions, so that we would go in order; because along the

way, in passing through, we would create such a mood that would facilitate recruitment of the population, those units that would go with us."

The narrator says:

"Monitoring JNA units and officers and pressure upon their lives is a daily obsession of Martin Spegelj. Telex messages came from all parts of Croatia about the activities of JNA units and their noncommissioned officers."

Spegelj, recorded on 19 October 1990:

"We are concerned that we might arrive at violence, my God, I said that on one hand, watch out, I do not see organization in this HDZ... But they are like monkeys... and we are going... And you think that it is a lot of bother, damn it."

"They Are All Armed to the Teeth"

Narrator: The criteria for the selection of elite members of the new army are identical to the standards of the underground. In addition to a pure lineage and proven Croatianness, to the third generation, the majority of that infamous elite are hardened criminals and Ustasa terrorists who have suddenly been taken off the arrest warrants, and instead of going to trial they have come to a legion whose sole task is to realize the NDH [Independent State of Croatia] vision of Croatia, without caring about the innocent victims.

Spegelj, recorded on 19 October 1990:

"But they are fanatics, my God. They are fanatics... I know, the last time when you told me."

"They are not from Virovitica. They are from that village... Pepelana, what is its name..."

"Pepelana, yes."

"They are Croats from that village; they were once fierce Ustase. They are all armed to the teeth."

The narrator comments:

"The defense minister says that the Ustase are fierce, but their ferocity does not bother him in the least."

"Knin Has To Disappear As Knin"

Minister of Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac, recorded on 6 January 1991, is speaking:

The narrator repeats Boljkovac's words:

"We will use all means, we will also use weapons, and there will no longer be any Serbs in Croatia as long as we are here. And let us hope that their supremacy is a thing of the past, if that has not been the case before now. Their Knin will not exist any longer. There will not be any Knin. Knin has to disappear as Knin. All Croats have to take this into account, and we will create a state at any cost, even if there is blood."

"The Americans Have Now Offered Us Assistance"

The director then shows an extract from Spegelj's interview on Croatian television on 24 November 1990:

"And emphasis on what you have said—peace is something that should induce every man of good will to fight in his institute, in his organization, in his political party, and in any other institution, for peace, for soberness, for congruence, for tolerance, respect. It is better to talk for 10 years and to negotiate, if you wish, than to go to war for 10 minutes. I can at least know that."

But on 16 December 1990, according to a taped recording, Martin Spegelj said:

"And we will solve the problem of Knin by destroying it. We have international recognition here and that is why we will destroy them. Especially now when that whore [as published] has won in Serbia. Milosevic. Now the other day, when he won, the Americans offered us assistance, and until then they kept speculating. They say first this, then that, a thousand armored transports, such and such automobiles and so forth, and complete weapons for 100,000 soldiers. For free."

The HDZ secretary for Virovitica (recorded on 12 November 1990):

"When we organize something through the HDZ, we only do it with the most select people. We have lists of the people who are in my ranks and who I have weapons for, but they will not get them until there is a call to arms. Our man is always there. Our people will go there immediately...And take them prisoner. OK, at that moment?"

"Immediately, we will turn off their stations."

"Aha. A Montenegrin, I know him. Perovic. So ten of them, actually, nine, will come to me, and I will send them and automatically send my couriers with them; simultaneously, if conditions are bad, one of them will go to the station where our people will immediately turn off the electricity in the entire city."

"Our people can handle themselves in the city better than they can... Damn it."

"Yes, when you throw it, there is no theory..."

"So, I raise Romic, he raises the sabotage troop, and he is responsible for surrounding the village. All right. And one, with another two, is directly responsible for the radio station."

The narrator of the documentary film notes:

"Everything really does go through the HDZ and through their chosen people. The most devoted members of the ruling party are directly involved in quiet liquidation operations."

Group for Quiet Liquidation

The continuation follows. An HDZ member in Osijek was speaking on 4 December 1990:

"It is a group for quiet liquidation."

"Exactly, yes..."

"These are well-rounded people who have automatic weapons. Among those 17 you have seven to eight who have automatic weapons, in addition to pistols, naturally."

"Who is the NCO for that group?"

"Branimir Glavas issues the instructions, so that we understand each other."

"What is supposed to be done?"

"Well, they got that directly, as I said the last time, from Vladan, this one from Zagreb. Seks."

"He is actually supervising you?"

"Well, I think, however, that he is—how can I put this—an extremist in a certain sense, the most ferocious of them. Seks is an extremist; in my opinion Bekic is with the rest of them in that respect, you know? But this one is only interested in shooting. Branimir is the most ordinary kind of tool, which will be eliminated one day when it gets in the way; no one will care about him at all."

The HDZ secretary for Virovitica, recorded on 16 January 1991:

(Nothing is heard)

Narrator: The HDZ at all levels has drafted a plan for getting around the order to disband the illegal units and disarm them. Instead of the imported weapons, non-working rifles are to be returned by police stations to JNA garrisons.

An HDZ member from Osijek, recorded on 4 September 1990, speaks:

"All those who are not Croats are automatically suspect. That is natural. It is also natural that those who are LC [League of Communists] members are automatically rejected, and that they cannot be trusted. For instance, the Bernardists, as they say..."

"What does the group for quiet liquidation do?" the interlocutor asked then.

"They will naturally receive orders as to who and when...from Branimir Glavas."

"Where are those lists?"

"Glavas has everything."

"What is the framework of that list, and how is that list drawn up?"

"Well, listen, I have said now how it is done within the framework of the militia, you realize...I think that the same system also applies to military personnel."

The Army Will Be Cut Down

Spegelj, 19 October 1990, is telling the two people (the recording was made secretly):

"The army does not have anything to ask for. It will be cut down. The problem for me now is how to protect you, the two of you. Not from the army, but from the others."

"[Expletive deleted.]"

"Every officer is covered by the group of five people in Virovitica and they will all be cut down while they are still at home."

"We will provide this list now. You will get the rest tomorrow."

"Now I must quickly tell those guys in Virovitica whom to single out, whom not to..."

One voice:

"I know when we do these..."

Spegelj:

"I know, no one should reach the barracks alive. No one. I know, when we do here, let us say..."

"A soldier on the street, or anyone, a courier, a jeep, and so forth."

"When the signal is given, everything will go smoothly. Without any question, and without identification being demanded."

Narrator: The HDZ at all levels has drafted a plan for getting around the order to disband the illegal units and disarm them. Instead of the imported weapons to the garrisons, the minister of internal affairs believes that his system for the organized murder of noncommissioned officers has been worked out to the smallest detail. It is ordering the murder of soldiers and every JNA noncommissioned officer on the street, so that in the event of a disturbance no one would reach the barracks alive.

Leave the Albanians Five Bullets Each

Spegelj, recorded on 14 October 1990:

"As far as the guardhouses are concerned, when the guardhouses are disarmed, we will try to disarm all of them that are there, but leave the Albanians five bullets apiece in their automatic rifles. But lock these others up in the cellar and give them food and water if necessary for a few days. And if comes to that, then just give directives to all your people whom you know and kill the extremists. On the spot, in the street, in the middle of the barracks circle, or anywhere else, just a pistol in the stomach. That will not be a war; it will be a civil war, in

which there is no mercy toward anyone, neither women nor children. Simply throw bombs into the apartment, into the family apartment."

After this the director interjected a portion of Spegelj's 24 November 1990 interview on Croatian television:

"I am sometimes an optimist, but I try to be realistic optimist. I often want to go beyond the realistic possibilities."

Then, Spegelj with his two interlocutors on 19 October 1990:

"And this?"

"It will be bumped off even before..."

"And this one here, Ljuban?"

"Yes, undecided."

"That one is undecided. Yes. And this one is certain."

"That one, the last one. Circle it well."

"Underline his name three times. Three times underline his name. They should block him. They should not kill him, damn it."

"Well, all right, but watch out."

"The same thing for him?"

"Yes, yes."

"Undecided, not that he is undecided but that he is completely caught by surprise. Do we want it for everyone? I can do it for everyone, tomorrow. I can do it tomorrow. All of them...And that soldier, a crazy one whom you count on the least, can go to the barracks, prepare the army, and start shooting from the barracks."

[Expletive deleted] "That is why all of them should be..."

Ministers Martin Spegelj and Josip Boljkovac are speaking in a taped recording from 14 October 1990:

"Organize two to three people for liquidation of the most dangerous ones; physical liquidation. For example, a courier will appear in the doorway, bang, bang, and he will go down the stairs. And afterwards let them ask the police to find out who it was. He will go down the stairs, and he will go to another, and another, or at the same time. The most dangerous ones can be killed in the doorway. It is not a question of women or children, nothing like that. That is not being asked."

[Box, p 7]

Who Showed the Broadcast

The special broadcast last night on the secret arming of HDZ members and the preparations for an armed uprising in Croatia was also shown by Sarajevo Television and Montenegrin Television at the same time that it was being shown on Belgrade Television. Macedonian

Television showed its viewers this program a little after 2100, and Slovene Television broadcast it at the end of its regular program. As we learned at Belgrade Television last night, the broadcast was also taken by their colleagues from Croatian Television, with the comment that they "would think about whether they would broadcast it or not."

[Box, p 7]

CNN and Sky Film Request TV Film

Representatives of foreign television companies, immediately after the special broadcast on the arming of HDZ terrorist units in Croatia, inquired about obtaining and broadcasting it. The first ones to apply, as we have unofficially learned, were people from CNN and Sky News, and so for that reason the English subtitling of this broadcast began immediately.

Letter Exchange Between Jovic, Kosovo Academy

Concern for Yugoslavia

91BA0198A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Dec 90 p 12

[Letter from the Presidency of the Kosovo Academy of Science and Art, signed by Academy President Musa A. Haxhiu, to Federal President Borisav Jovic: "Kosovo Academicians Worried About Reputation of Yugoslavia: Letter From the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo to Dr. Borisav Jovic, President of the Presidency of the SFRY"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] In today's edition, we are publishing the full text of two letters from the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo sent to Dr. Borisav Jovic, the president of the Presidency of the SFRY, and to the Presidency of the SFRY. Impudent and full of untruths, the malicious letters by the aforementioned academicians of Albanian nationality—which was also sent to the Council of the Academy of Science and Art of the SFRY, to the presidencies of all the academies of science and art in the republics and in the province of Vojvodina, and to human rights organizations, with a translation going to many foreign institutions and committees—are being published here unabridged. We are not certain, however, that the rational, well-argued, and correct response by Dr. Borisav Jovic to the Kosovo academicians was also sent to the aforementioned parties, which is why we are publishing it here in its entirety.

Mr. Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY, Belgrade

Dear Mr. President,

The members of the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo, acting on their human and academic conscience, and after reflecting on the sequence of events in Kosovo, resolved on 5 September

1990 to inform the Presidency of the SFRY and you personally of the chain of repression towards the Albanian nation by the republican organs of Serbia. The letter that was sent, a copy of which we enclose, noted, among other things, that coercive measures are gradually restricting the scope of intellectual and cultural substance, are hampering educational and scientific endeavors, and are jeopardizing health services in Kosovo. The Presidency of the Academy saw it as its duty to inform you of this. On that occasion, you, Mr. President, were entreated, among other things, to make efforts and to take constitutional and political measures to ensure order and peace, to restore the international confidence that has been disrupted, and to surmount the difficulties that may have inestimable undesirable consequences. We hoped that through our joint intercession, the aggressive exclusivism and confrontations would be transformed into a need for dialogue and productive cooperation.

We did not receive a response to our letter, which is not of great consequence, but to our great sorrow the situation in Kosovo is worsening progressively and the quality of life is declining. We continue to witness the introduction of temporary measures and mass firings, primarily of workers of Albanian nationality, which is happening almost exclusively because of well-reasoned lack of conciliation with and acceptance of the measures of force. The ethnic-based inequities in rights and living conditions are increasingly conspicuous. Impatience and tension, which could lead to serious unrest, are on the rise.

What Is of Concern

Within the framework of the deplorable events in Kosovo, of particular concern is the situation at the School of Medicine in Pristina, caused by the introduction of a coercive administration and the adoption of coercive measures at the university clinics and institutes.

Over these last three months, we have witnessed the ever more frequent use of force against health care workers, doctors, and teachers at the School of Medicine who are of Albanian nationality. In front of frightened patients and their companions, as well as medical students, well-known doctors have been removed from their jobs. This represents a serious violation of their human and professional dignity. One example of the cruelty and madness of the authorities is the treatment of Dr. Aljus Gashi, professor of anatomy, director of the Anatomical Institute, and dean of the School of Medicine. During working hours on 26 October of this year, he was physically mistreated by armed police and taken to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Also fired from their jobs were his coworkers, as well as the entire staff of Albanian nationality at the Institute for Histology and Embryology. Dr. Asene Agaj, a professor of histology, was forced to interrupt an examination and leave her office at the request of armed police. Other instructors were treated similarly. Instruction of many subjects in the Albanian language was threatened.

Over the past four months, more than 600 medical workers have been fired, including around 140 doctors, primarily specialists and instructors at the School of Medicine. This has endangered public health in Kosovo. Not one of these doctors was fired because of unprofessional or discriminatory behavior towards patients of Serbian, Montenegrin or other nationality. The majority of the doctors at the School of Medicine, regardless of their national affiliation, have helped each other and made efforts to develop the principles of the physician's calling, which are commonly shared by all and are humane and universal. Unfortunately, during the times in which we live, turning the facts upside down has become a political tool, and politics has been infused into even the most unsullied domains, including health care institutions.

The most serious situation was at the Gynecology and Obstetrics Clinic, where all doctors of Albanian nationality were fired. This has jeopardized all the positive achievements from the past 20 years in health care for women, mothers, and children. Women are once again giving birth at home and the mortality rate of women and children is rising.

Appeal to the Helsinki Federation

All of this has dealt a serious blow to the painstaking development of health care institutions created through community support and has violated the autonomy of medical facilities that is well-known throughout the world. The subjugation of the Albanian population in Kosovo by Serbia has achieved proportions the likes of which are unknown in the civilized world and which cannot be reconciled with conditions in Europe. This was also ascertained by the Commission of the Helsinki Federation which examined this question from the viewpoint of human rights. If this coercive process continues, with no steps taken to improve the situation, the authority of our country will be on shaky ground, and peace and prosperity will continue to be threatened, as will be the institution of human rights and liberties.

Mr. President, in view of your statements at the CSCE summit and taking into account the fact that our country has unanimously and irrevocably committed itself to the democratic rule of law and to the protection and promotion of human liberties, we are deeply confident that you, guided by your moral principles and accountable for the obligations that you expressed before the world, will make concrete efforts towards surmounting the difficulties that we face in Kosovo. This would be necessary simply in the name of love for every small child, love for the children of the world, in the name of the future mothers anticipating their newborn children with trepidation, in the name of the sick and their families who are hoping for the recovery of their loved ones.

In keeping with your constitutional authorities and obligations as a statesman, we hope that in addition to what was asked of you in the first letter, you will ensure the

return to work of all workers dismissed for nonacceptance of the coercive measures, that you will defend the autonomy of the health care, educational, and scientific institutions of Kosovo, that you will defend human rights, and that you will oppose oppression, discrimination, and segregation at these institutions. In this way, the necessary conditions for collective life in these areas will be created.

You will probably agree, Mr. President, that support for the protection of human dignity and human rights is not a sacrifice that we make for others, and that by defending their rights we also protect ourselves, because our liberties are also at stake.

Copies of the letter sent to you, Mr. President, have also been sent to the members of the Presidency, to the Council of the Academy of Science and Art of the SFRY, to the presidencies of the academies of science and art throughout the country, and to human rights organizations, with a translation of the letter going to all academies abroad, to committees for human rights, to the World Health Organization, and to the presidents of the member states present at the CSCE summit recently held in Paris.

The aforementioned parties will also be informed of your response.

The Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo

The President, Academician Musa A. Haxhiu

Serbian Control Over Kosovo Opposed

91BA0198B Belgrade *POLITIKA* in Serbo-Croatian
30 Dec 90 p 12

[Letter from the Presidency of the Kosovo Academy of Science and Art, signed by Academy President Musa A. Haxhiu, to the Presidency of the SFRY: "Against Serbian Constitutional Control Over Kosovo: Letter From the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo to the Presidency of the SFRY"]

[Text] At its meeting of 11 September 1990, the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo examined the disgraceful case of the forced transport of three regular members of this Academy to a so-called "informative discussion" with organs for internal affairs of the SR [Socialist Republic of] Serbia in Pristina because of public and constitutional ideas and views that the academicians, primarily through written means, publicly advocate (the academicians in question are Marko Krasniqi, Rexhep Qosja, and Gazmend Zajmi). The uncivilized manner of upsetting and frightening the families of the academicians was made all the more appalling by the arrival of officials from the SIA [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] at the homes of the academicians at midnight in order to take them to the "informative discussion."

On this occasion, the members of the Presidency of the Academy, acting on their human and academic conscience, and leaving aside the issue of violation of the peace and dignity of its members, are unable to ignore the chain of repression and unconstitutional measures, beginning with the unconstitutional suppression of the work of the Assembly of Kosovo, the Executive Council, and other organs, the suppression and obstruction of the work of the mass media and of mouthpieces in the Albanian language (RTB [Belgrade Radio and Television] and RILINDJA), and the mass firings of citizens of Albanian nationality, accompanied by a new wave of arrests and of criminal and illegal persecution of people, which is profoundly affecting the Albanian population in Kosovo. Amidst serious consequences for civil rights and liberties in Kosovo, the immediate perpetrator of the policy of the government of the SR Serbia is raising and heating up the level of social, national, and political tension in Kosovo, with unforeseen consequences. Naturally, the cycles and waves of differentiation, mass roundups by security organs, arrests, political persecution, 1981-style political trials and sentences, isolation, physical torture, and the several dozen or several hundred murders and gunshot wounds inflicted at demonstrations on participants of Albanian nationality are already a known part of the long, harsh, and painful chain of repression towards the Albanian nation in Kosovo, inconceivable in Europe as the third millennium draws near.

Against the "Economic Exhaustion of the Population"

At the meeting of the Presidency, among other disturbing phenomena and problems, particular concern was expressed in reference to the following serious forms of repression and unconstitutional measures that are being undertaken and executed by the current political authorities of Serbia in Kosovo and against Kosovo:

1. Already in this short period of two months, several thousands citizens of Albanian nationality have lost their jobs (estimates indicate around 15,000 blue collar and white collar workers, teachers, doctors, journalists, etc.) through receivership proceedings and the police and through summary proceedings on the basis of unconstitutional "summary laws" of the SR Serbia. This has meant serious consequences for these people's families, basically due to the political convictions that they have expressed relating to the individuality of the constitutional status of Kosovo and to the well-reasoned lack of conciliation with or support for repression, interdictions, force, and other unconstitutional measures. Regrettably, we must resolutely affirm that the economic exhaustion of the population for the sake of applying the aforementioned constitutional resolutions against the will of the population to which they relate, represents an impermissible form of activity by the authorities towards the population, which is also strictly prohibited by international agreements. Subsequently, we must note that under the Hague Convention, even authorities classically occupying another state are prohibited from demanding

declarations of loyalty to the imposed regime as a condition for civil peace on the job and in everyday life.

2. The armed police occupation of certain health care institutions and the frightening of patients, together with the firing of numerous Albanian doctors (well-known surgeons, gynecologists, and others) in order to impose receivership, and together with their handcuffing, a serious violation of their human and professional dignity, not only has dealt and continues to deal a serious blow to public health in Kosovo, but has also brought with it a great deal of alarm among the Albanian population in Kosovo and distrust towards health care institutions. The incidence of tetanus among newborn children born outside hospitals and the death of uncared for, premature infants due to incompetent deliveries, as well as the serious consequences of complications in pregnancy and of unattended deliveries, are a foretaste of serious, inauspicious social and health-related changes. Because of the repressive measures at health care institutions, uncared for, urgent cases are meeting a tragic end outside of health care institutions while beds for patients at the Gynecology and Obstetrics Clinic and at the Surgical Clinic of the School of Medicine lie empty.

Against Non-Albanian Students at Pristina University

3. The interference by Serbian political authorities in Belgrade through which academic departmental authorities in Pristina, contrary to the provisions of the Law on Universities and contrary to the principles of public competition for student enrollment at universities, are forced to enroll high school graduates from the SR Serbia who are unable to enroll at universities in the SR Serbia based on competitive qualification results, whereby they have not applied for admission on a competitive basis at the University of Pristina nor undergone qualifying exams at that university, constitutes a hitherto unheard of, serious violation of the university's autonomy, which must be brought to the attention of the Association of Universities of Yugoslavia, the European Rectors Conference, and the International Association of Universities. At the same time, this constitutes unheard of pressure on the population of Kosovo, for whom the University of Pristina was founded.

Against the Constitution of Serbia

Next to the many universities in Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian, including instruction in Serbo-Croatian at the University of Pristina, all of which is, on the whole, a propitious circumstance, the University of Pristina is the only university in the country with instruction in the Albanian language. This university provides college level education in the Albanian language for Kosovo Province, with its more than 80 percent Albanian population, and for just as high a percentage of students who have completed their secondary education in the Albanian language. Moreover, there are also citizens from Albanian-speaking areas of the SR Serbia, the SR Montenegro, and the SR Macedonia studying at that university, as well as students

from foreign countries. The enrollment of students without first entering into the competition for admission to the University of Pristina and passing qualifying exams, as well as the emergence of the idea of parity in the number of students in one language or another, is an element of the colonialist attitudes towards Kosovo by the current Serbian political establishment. This constitutes brute pressure on the population of Kosovo, with both principled-moral as well as other sociopolitical consequences. All of this, together with the chain of repression and unconstitutional measures, is impoverishing the intellectual and cultural substance, and is itself blocking, among other things, educational and scientific work in Kosovo, whereby it is the express duty of this Academy to point this out.

In light of the facts and statements that have been put forward in this letter, we appeal to the Presidency of the SFRY to do the following:

1. To examine the case of the forced transport of academicians to a midnight "informative discussion" with the police (5 July 1990), together with certain university professors and deans, and, in keeping with its constitutional authorities, to initiate measures of accountability towards the responsible institutions and persons from the internal affairs service for the unlawful police harassment of the citizenry;

2. That the Presidency of the SFRY urgently examine, in a special session, the aforementioned cases of dangerous and absurd state repression in Kosovo as well as the individual, deep-seated unconstitutional measures and undertakings by the authorities in the assembly system, in the area of labor relations, in health care, in education, and in other areas;

3. We feel that it is of special significance that the Presidency, in keeping with its constitutional authorities and political obligations, guarantee a quick return to work, without political conditions, of all citizens who have lost their jobs en masse as a result of summary actions, whereby the existence of their families is at stake;

4. The Presidency, in keeping with its authority to defend the country's constitutional order, should undertake urgent measures to prevent any further extension of the unconstitutional ban on the work of the Assembly of Kosovo, which was imposed in order that the Assembly of the SR Serbia could quickly adopt a new constitution, which in relation to the provinces contains resolutions not only against the will of the population, but also in conflict with the current Constitution of the SFRY, through which, moreover, the constitutional order is disturbed and, objectively speaking, the political situation in Kosovo is increasingly aggravated and complicated;

5. The Presidency is implored to undertake urgent constitutional and political steps to reinstate and protect information media and publications in the Albanian

language, to protect the autonomy of health care, educational, and scientific institutions in Kosovo, as well as to take steps against the pressure, discrimination, and segregation at these institutions that the authorities of the SR Serbia are applying there, prohibiting even the use of the official curriculum for instruction in the Albanian language and imposing the curriculum of the SR Serbia, without the consent of the legal organs of Kosovo;

6. The Presidency is implored to undertake, on the basis of its constitutional authorities, urgent steps to release from prison the leaders of the free trade unions of Kosovo, Prof. Dr. Hajrulah Gorani and Dr. Ilir Toljaj, as well as all citizens arrested because of publicly expressed political convictions. Furthermore, that there be a halt to the criminal persecution initiated against delegates because of the adoption of the constitutional declaration by the Assembly of Kosovo on 2 July 1990;

7. The Presidency is implored to read this letter as our resolute demand for respect on the part of the country's most competent political institutions, for freedom of expression of the political will of the citizens of Albanian nationality and of the Albanian nation, as well as of all other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, concerning all questions of the constitutional order, which the Albanian nation, as the majority population in Kosovo, has already expressed through the Assembly of Kosovo in the form of its constitutional declaration.

The Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo

The President, Academician Musa A. Haxhiu

Jovic Castigates Academy for Misbehavior

91BA0198C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Dec 90 pp 13-14

[Open letter from Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY, to the members of the Presidency of the Kosovo Academy of Science and Art: "Activity of Academy of Science of Kosovo and Metohija Exceeded Limits of Its Basic Functions"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] One would least expect institutions like the Academy of Science and Art to offer open support to separatism, says Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY, in his response to the members of the Presidency of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo.

In connection with your letter of 26 November 1990, I would like first of all to express my deep-seated concern that the activity of the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo and Metohija has exceeded the limits of its basic functions. One would least expect such institutions to offer open support for separatism, and even to participate directly in the formation of the policy and activities of separatist and nationalist forces in Kosovo and Metohija. The public stands and political involvement of

individual members of the Academy and of its Presidency and the influence on the work of provincial organs and on the activity of separatist and nationalist organizations this year decidedly confirm this. I want to say this to you openly and clearly at the very outset.

The Academy of Science and Art, by initiating action to constitutionally and legally incorporate a Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign state and federal entity within Yugoslavia, is very directly adopting the role of realizing the secessionist goals of Albanian separatists and destroying the constitutional order of the SFRY. The resolution adopted by the Academy in this regard was publicly advanced through attempts by Albanian delegates to the Assembly of the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province of] Kosovo to quash the decision by the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo to confer its consent to amendments to the Constitution of the SR Serbia from 1989 and to invalidate laws that uniformly apply to the territory of Serbia. Having failed in this, Albanian delegates to the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo, on 2 July 1990 attempted on the streets of Pristina to issue a so-called "constitutional declaration." The insistence of the Academy concerning the legitimacy of the "constitutional declaration" and the proclamation of principles and norms from the so-called "Kachanichka constitution" of August of this year obviously prove that the Academy is spiritually moved by giving constitutional and legal shape to a separatist state in Kosovo and Metohija, that it supports the orthodox positions of the Albanian separatist and nationalist movement, and that it is the intellectual headquarters for the secession of Kosovo and Metohija from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

This is why I think that the basic reason for your new initiative in favor of a reexamination of policy in Kosovo and Metohija comes from the realization that the latitude for separatist activity is narrowing and failing to yield results. On the other hand, I am convinced that the measures by the Republic of Serbia will create the essential preconditions for effecting peace, freedom, equality, democracy, and the overall prosperity of the AP [Autonomous Province of] Kosovo and Metohija. Unfortunately, this irrepressible process is continually being contrasted, both at home and abroad, by the persistent spreading of half-truths and distortions of the facts, persistent propaganda of secessionist goals, and the disavowal and denunciation of the legitimate organs of power of the Republic of Serbia and of the SFRY, activities in which certain members of your Academy are not lagging behind.

It is an irrefutable fact that the Academy of Science and Art of Kosovo and Metohija thus far has yet to submit to the organs of the Province or to the organs of the Republic or Federation a single project or program offering, on the basis of the results of scientific work by its members, a deliberate plan for the economic, cultural, and overall development of Kosovo and Metohija, as part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, nor has that scientific and academic institution ever condemned the genocide perpetrated against Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and

Metohija and the flagrant violation of human rights and liberties in the neighboring PSR [People's Socialist Republic of] Albania.

Ethnically Pure Presidency of Kosovo Academy of Science

One indication of the situation in the Academy and its leadership is provided by the fact that the academicians who are Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and members of other nationalities besides Albanians are in an extremely subordinate position, which is best confirmed by the fact that there is not a single member of the Presidency of the Academy who is not Albanian.

Through the tendentious allegations and series of untruths that you put forth in your letter, an attempt is made to prove the previously introduced thesis concerning the alleged threat to and violation of the elementary freedoms and rights of members of the Albanian nationality. These charges are very generalized and insufficiently specific, and a large number of them are basically undefined in a temporal and spatial sense.

In this way an attempt is being made to put the responsibility and blame for the exceptionally complicated political-security and economic situation in the province on the organs of the Republic of Serbia, while by circulating untruths about brutal repressive measures by the organs for internal affairs towards the population of Albanian nationality, an effort is being made to intensify the intolerance of the Albanians towards them and to contribute to the further negative homogenization of the Albanians.

Thus, as an example of an explicitly gross violation of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, the letter mentions cases of forced transport of three regular members of the Academy (Marko Krasniqi, Rexhep Qosja, and Gazmend Zajmi) to informative discussions at the offices of the organs for internal affairs. But the truth is as follows. Following the adoption of the so-called "declaration of Kosovo independence," workers for the organs for internal affairs, during the period from 5 to 18 July 1990, conducted legally permissible and prescribed informative meetings with these academicians and with another 59 persons of Albanian nationality who had previously declared themselves to be supporters of Albanian nationalism and separatism. At these meetings, these people were warned about the illegality of such behavior. On that occasion, they openly supported the aforementioned "declaration," and it is obvious from their statements that they regard their actions as ordinary, public political activity under the conditions of legalized pluralism, and not as separatist and illegal activity. Some of these people (e.g., Rexhep Qosja, Demir Rusici, Mitat Fejza) refused to accept the warning, as well as the informative discussion itself.

Academician Gazmend Zajmi admitted that he is the author of the text of the "declaration," that it contains no controversial elements, from either a legal or a political point of view, and that in the coming period he

would continue working on the text of a "constitution of the SAP Kosovo." In addition, he emphasized that he regards the dissolution of the Assembly of Kosovo as invalid, and gave notice that his work would continue.

Organs for Internal Affairs Did Not Overstep Legal Authority

The workers of the organs for internal affairs were called in within the framework of their legal authority, and they conducted the informative discussions with the organizers and supporters of separatist activities. On that occasion, they did not overstep or abuse their official authority. The aforementioned group of persons was not summoned to the discussion because of "public and constitutional ideas and views that they, primarily through written means, publicly advocate," but rather because of illegal activities aimed at disrupting the order established by the Constitution, which is considered one of the most serious criminal acts in the legal systems of all states.

Similarly tendentious and inaccurate are the allegations concerning the repeated overstepping and abuse of authorities by workers for the organs for internal affairs and the "tragic" consequences of these actions by them. In particular, information on the number and circumstances of participants in demonstrations killed or injured is often manipulated. After mass demonstrations in which demonstrators used firearms in attacks on the police and citizens in Kosovo and Metohija, a commission of the FSIA [Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs], in March 1990, investigated all the cases and determined that the use of firearms by members of security forces fell within the framework of their legal authorities and that firearms were used in cases where police workers had no other way to avert an attack that endangered their lives or the lives of other citizens.

The legal intervention by members of the Public Security Service under these circumstances encountered fierce resistance and extremely brutal physical opposition, including the use of firearms. The results of the work of the FSIA commission and the irrefutable facts concerning the repeated physical as well as armed attacks against members of the organs for internal affairs have once again confirmed the absurdity of allegations by Albanian separatists concerning the alleged "bloody repression" by the Serbian police against the helpless Albanian population. All cases where there was doubt concerning the possible overstepping and abuse of authority were investigated separately. Only in two cases was it determined that the use of firearms was not in keeping with the law (in Malisevo, when two people were killed and five wounded—preceded immediately by the serious wounding of a member of the organs for internal affairs with a firearm—and in the town of Janjevo, where two people were wounded). Legal measures were undertaken against persons who in these cases overstepped their official authorities.

At the same time, I remind you that during the period from 1981 to September 1990, 10 police workers were killed while performing official duties, 37 were wounded, and 941 were injured. During the period from January to October, there were 352 attacks on authorized officials of organs of internal affairs, 99 of which involved the use of firearms and other weapons, while 59 involved physical force. During October 1990 alone, 16 attacks on members of police special units were recorded, in which three workers were injured.

You condemn police brutality, but you forget certain facts that reflect the results of the uncovering and confiscation of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. This is illustrated by noting that in the period from April to November of this year, members of the police confiscated one machine gun, seven submachine guns, 126 pistols, 6,657 units of ammunition, eight grenades, and a certain quantity of military equipment.

In connection with passports, the facts contradict the allegations made in your letter.

In the AP Kosovo and Metohija in 1990, concluding with 15 December, a total of 117,599 passports were issued to Yugoslav citizens. Of that total number, 78,926 were new passports, and 32,103 were renewals. There were 234 applications for passports that were rejected, and bans were placed on the issuance of 1,241 passports. Around 90 percent of the passports were issued to Albanians.

In connection with other examples that you cite, I am informed that over the course of this year no measures were handed down to restrict the movement of foreigners in Kosovo and Metohija, while 250 foreign citizens were denied residency, including 69 citizens of Albania because they had illegally crossed the state border, and the others because of smuggling and the impermissible resale of goods.

The law on interrupting the work of the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo and of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo was adopted because for a long time the Assembly of Kosovo, through its work, has threatened the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia, and thus of Yugoslavia as well. The law was adopted on the basis of the authorities of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia emanating from the amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia authorizing the Assembly to pass ordinances to regulate the unified functions of the Republic in the area of public and state security and in the area of the organization and operation of state administration and labor relations. Moreover, only the competent constitutional court can judge the constitutionality of this and other contested laws.

Albanians in Kosovo Are a Nationality, Not a Nation

In your letter, you emphasize that through measures of the organs of the Republic of Serbia, repression, and political persecution, the Albanian population in Kosovo

and Metohija is being exhausted economically in order that it "be forced to accept the imposed constitutional decisions" and in order to negate the right of the Albanian nationality—which you, moreover, ignorantly and unconstitutionally declare to be a nation—to freely express the political will of "citizens of Albanian nationality and of the Albanian nation concerning the constitutional order in the province," which is expressed, according to them, "through the Kosovo Assembly in the form of its constitutional declaration."

However, you have overlooked some notorious facts here: that the AP Kosovo and Metohija is part of Serbia and Yugoslavia and not a republic, and that Albanians in Yugoslavia do not enjoy the status of a nation. Moreover, they constitute only around 14 percent of the total population of Serbia, and in no constellation whatsoever can they have the legitimate right to decide on the status, constitutional-legal position, and constitutional order of any region of the Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia. Albanians, as citizens enjoying equal rights, can do this jointly with the Serbian nation and other nations and nationalities and through equal participation in decisionmaking in the organs of the Republic of Serbia, which at the calling of Albanian separatists they incomprehensibly neglected to do during the recent multiparty elections in Serbia.

Significant support for the delegates to the dissolved Assembly of Kosovo and for the Albanian separatist movement has long been provided by the public information media, especially RTB Pristina and RILINDJA. Through these mouthpieces, a very intensive campaign has been waged against all actions by republican and federal organs. By circulating various pieces of disinformation and lies, especially on the eve of and following "adoption" of the "declaration of Kosovo independence," an attempt has been made to create and extend resistance among Albanian citizens, to provoke a boycott of all measures by competent organs, to openly appeal to them and instigate them to violate the constitutional order, to threaten territorial integrity, and to provoke interethnic conflict. No state has the right to forego countering such illegal activities. The Republic of Serbia had to, and under the Constitution was obliged to, undertake adequate measures to defend the order set out by the Constitution. For this reason, it was necessary to make decisions on undertaking temporary measures of state defense at RTB Pristina and at the RILINDJA and ZERI E RINISE newspapers.

In recent times, there has been a spread of the phenomenon whereby working Albanians, especially those from administrative organs, enterprises, and institutions where temporary measures have been introduced, have, by signing the so-called "declaration," announced their decision to unilaterally terminate their employment as long as the laws and measures of the Assembly of Serbia are in force, i.e., until the "system and individuality of the constitutional status of Kosovo" are reinstated. At the same time, this declaration represents an expression of political support for the secession of Kosovo from

Serbia and Yugoslavia and a denial of the state sovereignty and legal legitimacy of Serbia in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. In view of the fact that the "declaration" was generally signed in groups and collectively, it is obvious that some of the signers were people who did so under coercion or threats by the separatist leadership. Thus, it is not accurate to say that what we are talking about is mass firings; rather, what we are talking about is capricious resignations by Albanians by voluntarily giving notice, due to their nonacceptance of the decisions of the Assembly of Serbia.

Legal Dismissal of Saboteurs

In addition, there is also a massive incidence of the phenomenon whereby working Albanians intentionally block and frustrate the process of work in enterprises and institutions where they are employed through obstructing and preventing workers of other nationalities from working, through failing to perform their duties as workers, or through destroying the means of labor and official documents. In these cases, the authorized persons and competent organs have completely legally reached decisions to dismiss workers, have taken disciplinary action, and have suspended those guilty of these phenomena from their jobs. Viewed in real terms, the handing down of these measures has put an end to the absurdly tolerant attitude towards the inactivity of workers of Albanian nationality, which has gone on for some time, and to the payment of personal income that has not been earned. The competent organs have simply applied measures provided for by law, doing away with the "privileged" treatment of those not working and applying to them measures that apply to all other workers in the country who violate employment obligations in the same way. I do not know of another country where action different from this would and could be taken.

The signing of the "declaration," the decision to resign, the initiation of disciplinary action, or suspension from the job provided its own form of legitimation, which was the basis for entitlement to income in foreign currency from the coffers of separatist organizations, in an amount that was several times greater than the personal income from the former job. This form of "labor-union relief" had to play the role of financial promoter and provider of stimulus for and recruitment of unemployed Albanians into the ranks of activists, as well as that of realizer of a general revolt against state sovereignty and of the struggle against the establishment of a unified legal system in the Republic of Serbia. However, as the number of workers with dismissal notices grew, the self-styled "Independent United Labor Union of Kosovo" and other separatist organizations, as a result of their failure to live up to their promises concerning a quick breakdown of Serbian rule and the secession of Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia, practically halted further payments of monetary assistance to workers who capriciously terminated their employment or in some other way, according to the dictates of the separatist

leadership and organization, seriously violated the provisions of the Law on Labor Relations and were dismissed from their jobs.

In this way, these workers found themselves in unforeseen material difficulties and on the verge of financial exhaustion. Unfortunately, many of them are not aware of the fact that even now they have become the victims and tools of the strategy of separatists to use economic exhaustion of the Albanian population, especially of its educated stratum, in order to create fertile ground for the birth of a general uprising under the guise of social misery.

Finding themselves in a hopeless situation, these workers began in recent months to go in ever-larger numbers to the management of their former enterprises and to the heads of administrative organs, expressing their desire to return to work or their willingness to retract their statements capriciously terminating their employment, as expressed through their signing of the "declaration."

I am informed that the organs to which these workers are turning for reinstatement are considering such requests and are making decisions on the reinstatement of employment for each person who provides well-argued assurances that he will fulfill his duties and obligations as a worker, in keeping with legal and other regulations. In the case of former officials of administrative organs, reinstatement to employment requires—and with good reason—a pledge of acknowledgment and respect for the laws of the Republic of Serbia and of loyalty to the Serbian state.

The letter emphasizes in particular the problems at the School of Medicine in Pristina and in the health care system of Kosovo and Metohija, where the tragic consequences of inadequate professional work by health care personnel are directly blamed on the organs of the Republic of Serbia and the police workers who have allegedly used extremely brutal and aggressive methods in removing them from their jobs and in thwarting them in the performance of their callings. Through the temporary measures introduced at health care institutions, the Republic of Serbia is credited with having led these institutions down the road to collapse and to a grave situation, and with having endangered public health in Kosovo and Metohija through the "firing" of 740 health care workers—including 140 specialist doctors and instructors at the School of Medicine.

Separatist Interests Go Beyond Medical Ethics

The interruption in employment of the aforementioned number of workers is the result of their refusal to work in health care institutions because of the introduction of temporary measures and the application of legal ordinances to all those who have neglected the moral and professional standards of the doctor's and medical profession in pursuit of realizing separatist interests. The organs of the Republic of Serbia have registered a large number of Albanian doctors and other health care workers for the post of members of temporary organs.

However, not one of the nominees was willing to accept the performance of any function according to the decisions of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. In addition, upon the introduction of the temporary measures, a significant number of Albanian doctors and leadership figures at health care institutions offered resistance and refused to work under the leadership of temporary managerial organs, even organizing a work boycott and other types of obstruction that threatened the normal operation of the health care institutions. Only in exceptional situations, where the resistance and opposition of Albanian health care workers threatened to have dire consequences, did the temporary organs request intervention by the organs for internal affairs as the only way out of the situation. The only measure that was applied in this case was removal from the premises of the health care institution, and if the individuals that the organs for internal affairs were removing offered more drastic resistance and physically resisted the removal, then the measure of transporting them to the organs for internal affairs was also applied.

The introduction of the temporary measures does not mean that repression is being practiced, nor does it impair the health care situation in Kosovo and Metohija. On the contrary, the necessary level of organization and work is being established with which the conditions for equal rights among the citizens are created, regardless of their national affiliation, by realizing the right to health care protection and eliminating poor organization, functional fragmentation, personnel insufficiencies, ethnic-based divisions, and the causes of the critical epidemiological-hygienic situation at health care institutions in Kosovo and Metohija.

Strengthening the Personnel of Health Care Institutions in Kosovo and Metohija

The competent organs of the Republic of Serbia are undertaking measures to strengthen the personnel of health care institutions and their normal operations. Since April, 2,300 highly specialized health care workers from other regions of Serbia have been involved at health care institutions in Kosovo and Metohija—including a large number of university professors and eminent medical experts.

In your letter, you place special emphasis—as a classic example of the abuse of authority—on the case of Aljus Gashi, professor of anatomy, former director of the Anatomical Institute, and dean of the School of Medicine, who allegedly was physically mistreated by armed policemen. The charges made are completely untrue, because on 26 October 1990 workers for the Center for Security in Pristina were called in by the responsible persons from the School of Medicine in order to offer their assistance in removing from his post the then-dean Aljus Gashi, who had been relieved of his duties with the introduction of the temporary measures at the School. The police workers, in keeping with the valid decision by the competent organ, first located Gashi and demanded that he hand over the keys to his work premises, which

he energetically refused to do. On the way from the cafeteria to his former office, he attempted to provoke the police workers, and after entering his work premises he refused to leave, so that he was escorted to an official vehicle. While climbing into the vehicle, Gashi offered passive resistance, and by striking his head against the door frame, he sustained a slight physical injury, abrasions, on the head. Neither during his transport nor later was there any physical mistreatment, even though through his behavior Prof. Gashi directly attempted to provoke the police workers. After the discussion, in the presence of his lawyer, he was released at his home. The SIA requested that criminal charges be brought against Gashi for belittling authorized persons.

Concerning the allegation of “armed police occupation of certain health-care institutions,” it must be emphasized that the police workers intervened at medical institutions only at the calling and request of responsible persons and in situations where personnel disputes threatened to develop into direct interethnic conflicts and physical retribution.

The letter, among other things, alleges that “through summary proceedings on the basis of unconstitutional summary laws of the SR Serbia,” several “instructors” lost their jobs.

The truth of the matter is somewhat different. Several instructors who taught at the School of Medicine in Pristina were excluded from the teaching process, but not through intervention by the educational authorities of the Republic of Serbia, nor because they were instructors at that school. In fact, the interruption of their teaching activities is the result of an interruption of work at the clinics, which was caused by the abuse of medical ethics. According to the statutes of the School of Medicine, if a professor does not work at a clinic, then he cannot engage in instruction either.

Thus far, since the introduction of special measures on 5 July 1990, not one single instructor has been excluded from teaching at any primary or secondary school in the AP Kosovo and Metohija. Among Albanians, to whom these measures are applied, there are only around 30 education officials who, to a very large extent, are also the direct culprits in the serious divisions and illegal work in the educational system of this province.

Albanian Children Are Taken to Demonstrations Instead of School

The calculated and subversive activity of Albanian separatists, especially in the educational organs of Kosovo and Metohija, has had serious consequences for the education of children. Thus, nearly all students at primary and secondary schools during the 1989-90 school year lost up to one-third of their instruction time because instead of being at school following the curriculum, they were taken to monoethnic mass demonstrations. During this school year as well, individual educational workers

have inflicted incalculable harm on the education process, since by following an illegal curriculum they have jeopardized the regularity of the entire school year.

The allegations made in connection with the enrollment of students at the University of Pristina are also untrue and constitute disinformation and an erroneous conclusion.

Extremely malicious and inaccurate is the allegation that the enrollment of high school graduates from Serbia at the University of Pristina during this school year was "contrary to the Law on Universities," as if this were a threat to the chances and opportunities for Albanian enrollment and constituted a "colonialist policy" by the Republic of Serbia. By enrolling 1,050 students from all regions of the Republic of Serbia, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia wanted most of all to increase the number of students from other regions at this university, whereby it would acquire more of a Yugoslav character and whereby the personnel base would be strengthened through the involvement of educational and scientific personnel from all universities in Serbia.

The allegation concerning the illegal or lenient enrollment of students at Pristina, which allegedly undercuts the significance of that achievement, is incorrect in the sense that all enrolled students are subjected to the prescribed qualifying exam, while many of them in other academic departments have shown much greater knowledge than a significant number of those who took this exam in Pristina.

The supplemental enrollment of 1,050 students from other areas at the University of Pristina has not even slightly reduced the opportunity for young people of Albanian nationality to study, since there are another 1,300 empty positions specifically earmarked for enrolling candidates of Albanian nationality. Thus, the autonomy of the university was not violated, as is alleged in the letter. It is a known fact that autonomy is not measured in terms of nationalist-separatist outvoting, but rather in terms of the realization of the study curriculum, the autonomy of scientific work, academic rights, etc.

What the Council of Europe Resolution Guarantees to National Minorities

In adherence to the entire Council of Europe resolution on the protection of cultural, educational, and other rights of national minorities, the competent organs of Serbia have ensured that the Albanian nationality enjoy the greatest possible rights in terms of the right to education in their native language and to national cultural traditions. The massive scope of children and young people, from preschool age to the university level, with education in the Albanian language, as well as the existence of scientific and cultural institutions for the Albanian nationality, all the way up to your Academy of Science, almost futuristically surpasses the Council of Europe resolution, which simply requires that national

minorities be guaranteed, for now, only "obligatory" schooling in their native language!

I have referred to this at length, even though it is quite obvious that you are well aware of these facts.

Consequently, the basic difference does not emerge from the facts, as you attempt to make it out, but rather is purely political in nature. The essence of the matter is that the Academy of Science of Kosovo and Metohija—as can be seen nicely from your letter—refuses, just like the Albanian separatists, to accept the Republic of Serbia as a state of the Serbian nation as well as of all citizens of Serbia, who are guaranteed full equal rights under the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and under its constitutional-legal order. These are the elementary facts, the nonacknowledgment of which must by necessity lead to grave consequences, and which must be taken into consideration before all else. This is, in fact, the political essence of the matter, which cannot be ignored. Everything that has been set forth, however, also raises serious questions about the place of your Academy in all the events in Kosovo and Metohija over recent years about which you spoke in your letter. This brings with it the question of the responsibility of the Academy both for these events and for the current efforts to remain involved in the vanguard of Albanian separatist activities through the perfectly tendentious and absolutely malicious and untrue representations of these events.

I assure you that Albanian separatism in Kosovo and Metohija, in Serbia, and in the SFRY will not go away and that the organs of the Republic of Serbia and of the SFRY will do everything within the framework of their constitutional rights and duties to frustrate such activities. Your Academy should have no illusions whatsoever about this.

I hope that, as you indicated, you will bring this response to the attention of all the parties to whom you sent your letter.

The President of the Presidency of the SFRY

Dr. Borisav Jovic

Peace Efforts of Kosovo Albanian Catholic Priest

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[Interview with Llush Gjergji, Kosovo Albanian Catholic priest, by Davor Ivankovic and Zelimir Zanko; place and date not given: "Catholic Cross Over Kosovo"—first paragraph is START introduction]

[Text] Catholic parish priest Llush Gjergji has become an object of persecution by the Serbian reign of terror in Kosovo ever since he distinguished himself in an incredible campaign of Kosovo Albanian reconciliation and of forgiving blood feuds. Still, he deserves special credit for his promotion of the ideas of the Society of Mother

Theresa, the cult through which a certain re-Christianizing of all Albanians is beginning.

Llush Gjergji, a Catholic parish priest from Urosevac, was born Albanian in 1949 in Gornja Stubla, one of the "martyr parishes," as he himself says. The parish is in the vicinity of Vitina in southern Kosovo, an area populated primarily by Albanian Catholics, Croats from Janjevo, Letnica, Vrnakovolo, and Laramans, crypto-Catholics who practice Catholicism while mimicking the Islamic way of life. Don Gjergji became known to the broad public as one of the main organizers of an incredible campaign—"conciliation of blood"—for forgiving blood feuds, the centuries-old "distinctive feature" of Albanians, whereby more than 90 percent of "blood-stained" Albanian families have been reconciled over the past year! This priest is also known for having become an object of persecution by the Serbian reign of terror in Kosovo, since he has cared for corrupted Kosovo youth and found remedies for the afflicted inhabitants of Kosovo. He is one of the most influential Albanians in Kosovo, they say, at least as much as Ibrahim Rugova, a charismatic figure to the Albanians. He is a member of the Helsinki Commission for Human Rights, a defender and promoter of the Society of Mother Theresa, the cult that affects every Albanian, regardless of faith.

It is precisely through this cult that the specific re-Christianization of Albanians is beginning, a people that was entirely Christian before the arrival of the Turks, and one of the oldest at that. Gjergji was educated at the Jesuit classical high school in Dubrovnik, then attended graduate school in Split, the Roman "Urbaniani," earned his master's from the Vatican's Congregation for Spreading the Faith, and later earned his doctorate. He completed studies in philosophy and theology, and speaks seven modern languages.

The Skopje-Prizren Diocese, so little-known to the Catholic world, has a history 16 and a half centuries long. Its origins extend back to the Christianization of the Illyrians in the region of ancient Dardania, the capital of which was Scupi, now Skopje. It is a fact that Catholicism has persevered in this area for all these centuries, but these Catholics today remain on the periphery of Church events, recovering their strength only in recent times through an increase in the number of Albanian priests, who were annihilated and liquidated especially after the World War I. It is very difficult to find written documents from this diocese, since its central archives were destroyed in 1941 when a bomb hit the bishop's chancery and destroyed everything in it.

Today, ties between the diocese, the Zagreb Chapter, and the Vatican are growing continually stronger, and the presence of a "cross over Kosovo" will become more and more pronounced, Father Gjergji believes.

[START] Kosovo is called "a region of suffering." Is there still a solution to this suffering, or is it already becoming hopeless?

[Gjergji] I think that it is important and essential that every person suffer because of something, but only when the suffering is motivated. Specifically, a person finds the meaning of suffering, and when he expects that the suffering will produce some fruit, then he can bear it—and it is not destructive. On the contrary, it develops him. In the Kosovo situation, weariness has set in, and perhaps a feeling of utter frustration, and the people are now asking themselves, "How far will this go?" No one can answer that question with certainty. We endeavor to motivate the people to direct their activities towards something more enduring. We are not fleeing the present, but rather preparing for the future, and doing so by becoming involved in certain key themes and problems of the present.

In this sense, the alternative, especially the public workers of all regions led by Prof. Anton Ceta and the youth, has launched three major campaigns that have grown into national movements.

The first was the general reconciliation of the Albanian nation as a precondition for reconciliation and the creation of a new mentality and new culture, a new culture of life and love, where people do not want to square accounts with one another, do not want to solve the problems of life through violence. This campaign was launched in order to overcome the concepts of common law, the code, the so-called Leke Dukagjini.

Among other things, this common law, which covers life from cradle to grave, contains two chapters devoted to blood feuds. The basic principle is that blood can never disappear. This means that if someone is killed, then revenge is a sacred duty. Revenge against not only the murderer, but also his family, while on the other hand this moral need for revenge is the imperative not only of the immediate family, but also of the village, and even the tribe.

If we look at the past, however, this phenomenon was initially one of self defense. Because under the Turks, the Albanians—as Christians—had no rights whatsoever. Thus, in this retrospective of five centuries of Turkish rule, we must understand that the minority Albanian nation, all of which was Christian, had no other way to defend itself.

The Turks, however, quickly observed that they were not succeeding with violence among the Albanians. And so then they changed their tactics, promised them many rights, including the possibility of continuing to live Christian lives, only if they change formally, externally. And this results in the emergence of the so-called "Laramans," mixtures. They led dual lives; at home they called themselves Christians and lived as Christians, but externally they had different names and acted like Muslims. With time, a large number of Albanians became estranged from Christianity and converted to Islam. Today, in some regions, especially around Letnica and Stubla, there are roughly 10,000 people still living like that—uncommitted. Thus, blood feuds in the beginning

were defensive, but they later degenerated because the Turks succeeded in using them as a strong weapon against the Albanians themselves. This is how we arrived at the concept that has survived to this day. Still, it is important to note that the Albanian is not convinced that this is right, because a cultural concept and tradition is stronger than the individual, and he has been under especially strong pressure from his environment. This situation has begun to change only in recent years.

The second campaign, which has also grown into a national movement, is the struggle against illiteracy. It is said that there are around 300,000 illiterates in Kosovo! The third campaign is also humanitarian and charitable, and led to the creation of the Charitable-Humanitarian Society of "Mother Theresa." During these times of crisis, people want to help, and the society has quickly spread among Albanians in this country and abroad.

[START] How do you explain the major success of the reconciliation campaign?

[Gjergji] I think that through the process of education, culture, and civilization, we have realized that nothing is achieved by destroying life. That is one thing that I view as essential.

Secondly, these circumstances have prompted the nation to think about its fate, to not create new antagonisms, to not open new wounds, and to not destroy itself from within. Thirdly, it has been joined by people of culture, including us as the Catholic Church, and the Islamic community. In this way, we have praised reconciliation at church and at mosque, and at every other public place where we were not prohibited from doing so.

But there have been attempts at reconciliation in the past too, such as reconciliation by the elders, a mediation committee of elders, but the condition was always that the murderer leave town, that compensation be paid, and so on. Now, we are forgiving unconditionally, even to the point of a murderer being called friend and brother. Moreover, the wronged families are asking that those who have moved away because of blood feuds return if possible, since they—the wronged parties—have no claims to lay.

There are two fundamental motives: Forgiveness is granted in the name of justice, peace, love, the nation, in the name of some turn for the good, in the name of faith, in the name of God, be they Muslim or Catholic. Wherever we have had these two elements, national or religious, it has been very easy to achieve success, and we have succeeded in more than 950 cases. We still have another 40 unresolved ones. It is interesting that this campaign, which was begun by Prof. Cetta and students originally from Pec, has spread to other areas where Albanians live, even throughout Europe.

[START] Might one expect that in some other situation, when this national motive is perhaps on the wane, the blood feuds will persist?

[Gjergji] I don't think so. Specifically, there have been such changes, and everything has changed to such a degree that people are forgiving unconditionally and are convinced that this is the only way that we can cure the cancer of our society. They are aware that this is utterly necessary. Because there used to be certain theories that unfortunately convinced people that, for example, the Albanian does not forgive. But we have convinced ourselves that, if he agrees to the method, the Albanian forgives very easily and beautifully.

In this situation too, we have come across people who preceded or followed us saying, "Don't forgive!" When a person realizes who wishes him well, then he gathers up his strength to take a step forward and find himself there.

For example, once we had a reconciliation along a creek behind which we positioned the murderer. To me, that creek somehow symbolically represented how they were separated from the nation by that crime. On the other side was the nation, around 250,000 or 300,000 people. Those who had to forgive and offer the hand of reconciliation were proud and happy. But when we called the others, the murderers, to come across the stream, it seemed like a century would pass. Up until the moment that reconciliation took place, there was a hush, complete silence. Those people who until yesterday felt that it was a weakness not to take revenge, today believe that revenge itself is the greatest weakness. They isolate those people if they do not want to forgive them. Thus, we have seen a complete change, some new values have been adopted, values that are general, human.

We have not only effected this conciliation for blood feuds; we have also reconciled married couples who were at odds and settled conflicts between parents and children, between friends and neighbors, although the blood feud has still been the most important. We have also had reconciliation with others. Thus, we have not proceeded on any national basis, but rather on the basis of universal conciliation. And that is what we wanted—for others to join us in this major campaign, which has become a national movement. Just think, at some of these reconciliations there have been as many as 650,000 or 700,000 people.

[START] Where was that?

[Gjergji] At Decani. There was perfect order, we didn't need any police whatsoever, the people were so happy and patient, they begged us not to cut the program short, even though it was raining. On that occasion, I said that this is perhaps greater than the Nobel Prize, that if someone has lost one, two, or three members of the family, then they have gotten a hundred, a thousand people who want to be their brothers and sisters and make up for the emptiness that was created because of the killing.

[START] Does this mean that now, in the new situation, there is less sinning?

[Gjergji] Well, at least as far as this is concerned, I think so. What is important is not only this moment of forgiveness, but also the fact that he who forgives is freed of hatred. One person has committed the crime of murder, but it is also a crime that the other person has lived in a state of hatred. Thus, this helps both one side and the other, and is the opportunity to begin looking at life around them differently now. We have explained that reconciliation is necessary for the sake of the children's future. In addition, there is the movement, and thank God everyone has participated in it. We saw that it was the right opportunity to resolve this right now, not through laws, since the Albanian nation regarded itself as beyond the law during the period of the old Yugoslavia, the dictatorship, and to a certain extent this has been its experience in more recent times as well, viewing itself as the dispenser of justice. The essential thing is that there be no more revenge. That is why we intervene immediately in every conflict. Mediation committees have been created in a new manner. They are young men and women, uncompromised, who do not come for financial gain, people who work in the name of the nation, in the name of justice, peace, love, God, and the name of the value of life. There have been cases where we went two, three, five times, and even if 10 times were needed, then we can truly regard this as a major achievement. At the outset, we worked a great deal and were patient, and later everything went much easier because people saw what was at stake. We were greatly helped in this by the public communication media, because they gave us a great deal of publicity.

[START] The more momentum that this campaign gained, the more vehement was the reaction by official political circles?

[Gjergji] For example, we were even prohibited in writing from performing reconciliation on church grounds, because by having Albanians, including Muslims, reconcile on church grounds, it was explained, others were being upset, etc. One thing is very important: The Catholic Church in the Albanian nation has for centuries played this role of reconciliation, because even in the Leke Dugadjini codex it says that every reconciliation must take place with a Catholic priest. During the time of the Turks as well, we had so-called flying missions (*missione volante*), which were made up of Albanians and Italians, the sole purpose of which was to go from parish to parish, especially during a time of charisma, and reconcile people not only from blood feuds, but also from any other disputes; one would be an Easter confession and reconciliation of the entire village, the entire parish. Thus, this is one tradition. And then we see it as ridiculous and tendentious to say why reconciliation is being performed on church grounds and at Catholic churches or mosques. The important thing is that it is happening, and we will go wherever we must, wherever it is easier for the people. It is fundamental that peace be achieved. We have explained to the people that this is a prerequisite if we want to be a constituent part of Europe. And we are that, have been that, and must be

that. For example, Scanderbeg defended Europe from Turkish attacks for 25 years, and even sent his army off to liberate Naples. Because of this, he was called *difensor fide*, defender of the faith. And we have another history: We accepted Christianity in the days of the apostles from Saint Paul, thus making us one of the first nations in the Balkans and in Europe to do so.

[START] Besides the fact that few people know that the Albanians were Christians, it is equally true that even fewer know when they accepted the faith?

[Gjergji] We do not have a date, like our brothers the Croats and all other nations do, a date of christening, of Christianization. We are with Saint Paul himself and his students. The Illyrians, from whom we are descended, accepted Christianity from the very beginning. Later, as in the third century, at the Council of Nicaea (325), they had their representatives, a bishop ("Dacus Dardanie"), and maybe even two of them who were metropolitans, which means that the Church was organized enough to have its own suffragans. In addition, it should not be forgotten that it was easier for the Slavic nations to accept Christianity because they found a church in their homeland that was well-organized and functional. The Albanian nation was divided into three communities, however, because of the concurrence of events. As you know, the division between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches took place in 1054, and it was political rather than religious in nature. Because of the specific circumstances in which they lived, the Albanians were partially under the influence of Rome, and partially under the influence of Constantinople. In this way, we had Albanians of the Eastern rite and Albanians of the Latin rite. Those who were under the influence of Constantinople gradually became estranged from Rome. This is how the split came about. To corroborate my theory, I will note the example of the Italo-Albanians, the so-called Arbreshi. They are all of the Eastern rite, have two dioceses, in Calabria and on Sicily—Lungro and Pianna dell'Albanezi. Although they practice the Eastern rite, they have never been split off from the Catholic Church. This proves the theory of the spheres of influence of the Eastern and Western churches, which is more accurate than calling it a division. Then, with our great bishop and writer (Fan S. Noli), we had the autocephalous Orthodox Albanian Church in the struggle for autonomy from the Greek church, but also from other, Slavic churches. Every Albanian today recognizes that he was once Catholic. Thus, knowing Islam as I do, I maintain that Islam is not aggressive towards Christianity in Kosovo. Consequently, it is not true that Albanians are Islamic fundamentalists.

The Catholic Church wants dialogue with everyone, has no enemies, and our Albanian brothers, the Muslims, also admit that there would probably be no Albanian nation if it were not for the Catholic Church. The process of Islamization gradually led them astray, but we have had a large number of priests, bishops, monks who have supported the Albanian nation who have written. It is no coincidence that the first Albanian word uncovered so

far is the very formula for baptism: "I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Our first major book dates back to 1555. Much earlier, however, in the 13th and 14th century, we have other witnesses who spoke to the Albanians in their language and culture. The first document that mentions the Albanian language is from 1332—Guglielmo Adae, who writes: "The Albanians have a language completely different from Latin, although they write with the Latin alphabet, in practice (speech), and in publications." This is being researched, and I think that much older documents will be found. Moreover, practically all literature created under the five centuries of Turkish rule is Christian and national. Today, this is not simply something from the past; for many, this elicits a desire to understand what Christianity is, what the Catholic Church is. Dialogue with young people and intellectuals has been restored. An indispensable role in this has been played for 20 years now by our religious-cultural journal, DRITA ("The Light"): Almost from the very beginning there has not been a single issue in which two or three Muslim names do not appear. And we have not even looked at the names; rather, we have reestablished a common table of values. In this way, the book *Cvijec za Majku* [Flowers for Mother], published on the occasion of Mother Theresa's 75th birthday, is the work of authors of various origins and religious convictions. We also have Christian books translated by Muslims. We do not want to convert anyone, conversion is God's work. Some people decide on their own. If someone is burdened by their faith, we advise them to unburden themselves, because faith is not and should not be a burden, but rather an aid. Thus, we also have several Muslim girls who want to be sisters. It is important that any process take place gradually.

[START] Mother Theresa is very popular among Albanians, so much so that one can even speak of her cult, which is supported by all Albanians.

[Gjergji] Mother Theresa has become a model and a symbol, an inspiration to every Albanian. Many works of art have been dedicated to her. Albanians accept her primarily because she is Albanian, the first Albanian Nobel Prize laureate. In the book *Nasa Majka Terezija* [Our Mother Theresa], which has gone through many editions, including some abroad, I tried to present Mother Theresa to the world as our sister, as mother of the world. Consequently, the national motive is the most important, and only then do we achieve these evangelical values through her. It is through her that the essence of Christianity can be introduced most painlessly.

[START] Despite the fact that Mother Theresa is quite old, it is expected that she will come to Kosovo during these difficult times for Albanians. The fact that she has not come has disappointed the Albanians...

[Gjergji] She has promised to do so. However, the fact that she has not come can be explained by the state of her health, but also by the political circumstances. For her

arrival, we have prepared a genuine celebration of reconciliation, but in this situation I do not know what sort of celebration this could be. It could be excessive in other unfavorable situations. I am sorry that she has not come, and I even went to Bucharest to see her at the beginning of May when she was staying there. The people have anxiously awaited her, but the arguments for why she has not come are reasonable.

[START] Your humanitarian activities have proven somewhat dangerous for the Kosovo government: They have been called anti-Serbian and separatist, you have even been accused of launching the quasi-poisoning of children campaign, and they have invaded your church?

[Gjergji] We are in an overwrought situation where everyone regards and treats everyone else as an enemy. There is nothing indigenous, original, Albanian, in the service of the nation, that is not assessed as such. Even Mother Theresa is seen as serving separatism. Things have gone so far that it was originally said that there was no poisoning. Then, it was said that this is an inductive psychosis, after which it was said that the Catholic Church did the poisoning. I feel that these are absurd, irrational attacks. Nevertheless, our bishop has written, and even Cardinal Kuharic has written, that these attacks are considered attacks on everything that is human, that which is humanitarianism and which is duty.

I received these 27 unfortunate boys and girls under chaotic circumstances. The people, even those who were poisoned, were under the complete control of the police, the roads were blocked, and drivers were mistreated for driving poisoned people to other medical centers. The police were there three times. They told me that I had received imposters, pretenders, and I told them that neither I nor they could determine that, but that I knew that there is no law preventing me from doing good, without going into an interpretation of the phenomenon itself. The important thing is that someone needs help, regardless of who it is. I think that this is how they made fools of themselves in the interethnic public's eye. Thus, they also said that they had found a bunker of medicine, and I responded by asking them to look up the work "bunker" in a dictionary of foreign words. All of this medicine was purchased legally, with the consent of federal organs.

[START] What is your assessment of the situation among Serbs in Kosovo?

[Gjergji] I am happy that I live in a mixed environment, and every day I am tested by myself and by God about how much I am a human being who belongs to these people. I have never devoted my priesthood and my life only to my believers, Catholics; rather, I am in service to every man. One or two hundred people come to me each day, and I have never asked them who they are. I feel that the role of the Catholic Church in Kosovo is providential, precisely from that viewpoint. We are brothers in blood, in tradition, and in culture with

Albanian Muslims. In religion, we are brothers with the Christian Orthodox, Serbs and Montenegrins. Thus, the role is one of bridge-building between the two groups. We have never resolved to take sides with the Albanians because they are Albanians; rather, we have performed everything that we have done in the name of peace, justice, truth, love, in the name of evangelical values. Anyone who is threatened has my full support and solidarity, as well as the solidarity of the Catholic Church, just as Christ was always on the side of the little man, those who were threatened and assailed. Nor do we belong to any political party. My policy is Christ, the Gospel. These are values that are immortal. I do everything in that spirit, and that is why I keep going.

[START] What is your assessment of the decision that Albanians not participate in elections in Serbia?

[Gjergji] How can Albanians organize and go into the elections if they do not have their own government, their own forums, their own people? Under these conditions, it is impossible to prepare for and conduct elections. We have no press, radio, television, and great harm has been inflicted on education. The basic preconditions for elections do not exist.

[START] How do you view the situation in Macedonia, where Albanians achieved good results in the elections?

[Gjergji] I am not well-acquainted with the situation there, but I do know that Albanians from Macedonia have been very committed to humanitarian activities. It appears that Albanians there have become aware of their situation and risks precisely because of Kosovo, and that they subsequently became involved accordingly in order to get their own representatives.

It is incredible that we are the number three nation in terms of numbers in Yugoslavia and that we are regarded as a national minority, while someone else continually speaks in our name. But we should have some awareness and freedom to make our own decisions. In a certain sense, this is a frustrating situation, one that in fact involves a contest in which no one can win and no one can lose. There is no winner and loser, the winner must be justice, truth, cooperation, but not imposed by violence. And this national question of the Albanians has never been properly posed, much less resolved. In this way, conflicts are created, and nothing other than the national aspect can be seen. But if we see nothing good in other nations—and not one positive word has been said about Albanians for 10 years now—then I wonder what sort of maturity—cultural, civilizational, ethnic, religious—is present here.

If we do not achieve this maturity, of being aware of good and bad traits in all nations, then I am afraid that there is no future. If we do not achieve unity in diversity, then we will not be able to build the future together. We feel that a solution to the Albanian question, as with other similar questions, is possible only on the basis of the so-called European system, where borders become

meeting places and a formality. Only a solution like this is logical in the process of European integration.

[START] As an educator, like it or not, you have a certain political influence, especially since these campaigns. How do you handle this, since you are a priest?

[Gjergji] I have told all the political parties, including the Christian Democratic one, that I am not affiliated with anyone, that I am available for the good of all. I am involved wherever I feel I can. I am affiliated only with the Helsinki Commission for Human Rights, although due to obligations I have never attended its meetings. Anyone who requests my cooperation will get it, not only among Albanians. I have told the police: If we have succeeded in reconciling as many as 900 bloody feuds among belligerents, then I am deeply convinced that we could succeed in reconciling Albanians and Serbs within 15 days to a month, regardless of the cases in question, simply by using our free and absolved arms to explain to people our fundamental motivation and exactly what we want.

[START] Is it also possible in certain other circumstances to explain to Serbs the effect of reconciliation on themselves?

[Gjergji] Human sensibility is uniform, man tends towards the good. What Jesus does is essential: He despises the sin but not the sinner. And when we condemn evil we do not condemn the community that committed this evil, and we tell this to the people every day—specifically, that they not look at the Serbs stereotypically and with prejudice.

[START] Right now do you see a suitable person or a suitable force that could emerge from the Serbian side with this conciliatory tone?

[Gjergji] I am deeply convinced that such forces exist, and I am also acquainted with some of them. Thus, for example, I have good encounters and dialogue with Bishop Pavao, as well as with numerous intellectuals. I think that there are many more of them than there seem to be at first glance.

Views of Advocate of Istrian Autonomy

91BA0215A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 91
pp 24-27

[Interview with Ivan Pauleto, president and founder of the Istrian Democratic Assembly [IDS], by Rajko Djurdjevic; place and date not given: "Istria: Why We Are Demanding Autonomy"]

[Text] Istria, splayed and divided between Croatocentrism and the secession of Slovenia, is becoming an international issue and problem. It is demanding autochthonous expression in the form of its own autonomy.

What amounts to a political storm is today dominating a considerably broader area of the coastal region, coming into conflict with the hinterland and the capital of

"sovereign Croatia." Further down, in the center of Dalmatia, the new Dalmatian Action Party is represented under Croatian, Yugoslav, and European banners. Its poster with three lions symbolizes defense against "Serbian expansionism," "Italian conquests," but also destruction by Croatocentrism from the center, "a real and tangible danger."

The spirit of Dalmatia has had 2,000 years to take shape in this region. In many respects, it goes beyond the frame of what the top leadership in the capital calls today: "Croatian culture," "the Croatian essence," and "Croatian identity in general." Dalmatianism contains all of that, but it also goes somewhat beyond. Dalmatianism, the demand for autonomy of Dalmatia, the refusal of its remaining on the periphery of cultural events and a province of economic prosperity, has been explained from the center in these terms: "The converted Turk is worse than the Turk himself...." "Banditry" is no longer specific only to the Serbs in Knin.

On a bulletin board in Makarska, the third lion on the Dalmatian Action poster, has been riddled with bullets.

The Demand Issued to Croatia and Slovenia

In organizing power, the new democracy in Zagreb has created "policemen" and special armed units as its first democratic expression. Now the "Order of the President's Knights" has been formed. There will be standard-bearers on the flank of the unusual government structure. Someone has calculated that the biographies of the members of the top leadership and the Assembly have an aggregate of 700 years of prison time.

The political demand to create a unified autonomous structure is being channeled even here in Istria. The Istrian Democratic Assembly [IDS] has issued its announcement. Its leaders, General Secretary Mario Sandric, organizational chairman Dino Debeljuh, and the presidents of all seven chapters in Istria drew up a demand which will be sent to the Governments of Croatia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia, to the Parliament of European Regions in Strassbourg, and to the UN general secretary.

"We are demanding of the government, of the top leadership of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, that in no manner and on no grounds whatsoever are they to involve the citizens of Istria and its islands in the interethnic conflicts on the territory of Croatia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia, which could result in a threat to human life and property on and from the territory of Istria and the islands," states the first paragraph of the demand.

Its conclusion contains this passage:

"If the government and top leadership of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia do not provide this protection to citizens of Istria and its islands, the Istrian Democratic Assembly will in the name of the citizens of Istria and the islands demand that direct protection of

human life and property on the territory of Istria and the islands be guaranteed and implemented by the combined diplomatic-political and peacekeeping actions of the Organization of the United Nations through the Security Council."

We talked about everything that is happening in Istria with Ivan Pauleto, an engineer from Premantura, which is in the very south of Istria. Pauleto is the first president and one of the founders of the IDS. Four months ago he withdrew from his post of party president, but he has been very intensively involved with the issues of Istria which have now become a current topic.

"In its history, Istria has been a part of Venice, Austro-Hungary, and Italy. From the time of Napoleon, and indeed even earlier, up to the end of World War II, it always had autonomy throughout its entire area," Pauleto said. "The Slavs who came here met the Latins and Germans. They created a symbiosis of their life together. It has been our good fortune to have three cultures around us and an ethnic ocean. The autochthony of Istria was created from that symbiosis, but it is being devastated under the new conditions.

[Djurdjevic] The Italians in Istria experienced a great exodus in the 1950's. What were the reasons for that persecution?

[Pauleto] That was a horrible tragedy which is still like a nightmare for all Istrians. We do not want it to recur today. We had a somewhat less intensive exodus between the two wars. At that time, people were fleeing to Yugoslavia. I repeat: to Yugoslavia, because even today we in Istria speak about Yugoslavia. The older people do not distinguish other ethnic divisions at all. That is, that exodus between the two wars was caused by the arrival of fascism in Italy. Fascism grew, and the exodus became larger. In 1918, with the fall of Austro-Hungary, Istria became an integral part of Italy. When a relatively weak democratic government was losing its power by the day, and when Benito Mussolini came to power, those events were reflected in Istria. It is not only in this area that they were significant, but they occurred everywhere where fascism was created. That centralism, whose seat was in Rome, created many opponents, and people fled to Yugoslavia.

Persecution Lasting Half a Century

[Djurdjevic] Were there Italians among those refugees?

[Pauleto] Yes, those who are creating ethnocentrism in this area today ought to bear that in mind. In any case, how can Istrians be set apart? My people came from Udine, but my father's mother is a Serb from Montenegro, from the Bogetic family. In a possible exodus, which entity would I carry into exile?

[Djurdjevic] You emphasize that that consciousness that Istrians have of their own autochthony came into conflict with fascism. What, then, are the reasons for the second exodus, after the war?

[Pauleto] That persecution began in 1945, and it was horrible, both in Istria and throughout Dalmatia, all the way to the Bay of Kotor. Differing numbers of the Italian inhabitants persecuted are mentioned today: from 100,000 to 400,000 people. However, regardless of which number is right, it is horrifying that even today Yugoslavia has not felt the need to pose that question and provide precise answers to it. Nor does Italy have clean hands. There is no doubt that it encouraged the exodus. But on the Yugoslav side the exodus resulted from violence. Actually, the insanity began in 1943. It did not stop toward the end of the war, nor immediately afterward. People came into a relatively civilized region who had had their personal traumas, they had experienced all kinds of things, the families of many had been slaughtered, and they felt that by coming to Istria they were entering upon a hostile region, and that is the way they behaved. That is how mass graves were created in Istria during the war and after 1945. At the beginning, the justification was: "Those are, after all, fascists," but Istria never had that many fascists. They had fled or had been punished earlier. Actually, the victims were completely ordinary people.

The mass graves were filled without any sort of judicial trials. People were thrown into them on the pretext that these were bad criminals and fascists. The majority were people of some distinction whom someone spotted for reasons unknown; they were usually well-off, or they had a different outlook on life in the world. Here, in my area, there was less of that, but even here people disappeared. I remember a man who returned at that time from America. This young man was keeping livestock and reading books. He became suspicious to someone, and one night he disappeared without a trace. There were a great many such disappearances in Istria. Recently, a joint Yugoslav-Italian commission was formed, and I believe that there will finally be an investigation of this. It is also inevitable that the real reasons that were at the root of all that will be clearly stated.

[Djurdjevic] You also lived through the time of the later exodus. What actually happened at that time?

[Pauleto] People fled who had their farms here, their houses and stores, their cemeteries, and their entire past. They left for another insecurity. That is not the way it seems from our present-day perspective, but do not forget that at that time Italy was not what it is today, a rich country, but a country devastated, ruined, poor, a loser in World War II. It is certain that it could not guarantee the refugees a peaceful existence. A mechanism was set up here to persecute those people. In 1946, a demonstration was organized for the population to meet the commission for demarcation of Istria from Italy. The international committee was made up of officers of the allied armies, and gatherings were "organized" by means of physical coercion whereby they would put forth their demands to remain in Yugoslavia. People were gathered from the most remote villages. The authorities threatened them. They blackmailed them by offering food stamps and ration cards. That could have a

certain effect at that point because people were frightened. After that period came the time known as the "optation." People were issued permits to settle in Italy. My wife's family, father, three sisters, and grandfather, applied for that permit. They waited for six years, and when they got it, they were ordered to leave Istria within one week. In the meantime, they were harrassed in all kinds of ways for six years.

[Djurdjevic] Today, in Istria, people frequently pull out evidence of the autonomy promised during and after the war. What promises were those?

[Pauleto] I have authentic testimony by people who meant something at that time and were decisionmakers. Back in 1943, Tito promised Istria autonomy. Three years later, there was a great deal said about that. The People's Committee in Labin established the committee that was supposed to work on creation of autonomy. I know that that commission and everything that occurred concerning autonomy simply...disappeared! Istrians who at that time were in the Partizans and in the new government have testified on all of that. Tito once explained, Eleonora Belof has told about this, that it turned out to be "impossible to create Istrian autonomy because Italians are scattered over that entire area." So, on technical grounds, Istria was divided for the first time into Slovenian and Croatian sections, and the people never had a say in that. In history, it had had an assembly in Porec, an administration in Trieste, it constituted a geographic, ethnic, cultural, and economic whole, but none of that was important to the new government.

Absurd Borders

[Djurdjevic] How was the line drawn across Istria between Slovenia and Croatia?

[Pauleto] As far as I know, this was done by Kardelj and Bakaric. They drove around in a car discussing toponyms, debating whether the root of the name of the river Dragonja derived from the Croatian or Slovenian language!? By and large, the river became the boundary.

[Djurdjevic] That border takes on international importance with the secession of Slovenia....

[Pauleto] That is nonsense, an unacceptable and absurd situation. Neither Istria nor the world can accept anything of the kind. The Slovenes have always wanted an outlet to the sea, but Istria has never voted for annexation of any part by Slovenia. Not long ago, when the vote was being taken in the plebiscite concerning Slovenia's secession, an absolute majority voted against that in the Istrian opstinas. People do not want to become citizens of a state that has never existed in this region.

[Djurdjevic] When after all your researches, at the end of a half century of that process, you look at the end of it, what policy was at the basis of all that?

[Pauleto] A horrifying Croaticization was concealed in this region. I am convinced that this disturbs everyone here, regardless of ethnic background. Croats and Serbs are inhabitants of Istria, and we are proud of that, but those people never had a chauvinistic slant, and do not now. What has been happening recently is causing general anxiety. Earlier, we understood all that, that this was a statist communist state which concentrated unprecedented power in the center, at the very top. But today, now that the newly formed party has come to power in Croatia, we see the continuity of the process. Istria was once devastated by the plague, and two newly formed states now finally want to destroy it forever! Ethnocentrism cannot be the democracy of the 21st century! Many factors, public and tangible, which we recognize so clearly and feel in our lives, many actions of that government, persuade us that it does not differ at all from the previous communist or even from the fascist regime.

[Djurdjevic] Disagreements between President Tudjman and the Istrians began back during the election campaign, in Pazin. At that time, he brought a local Catholic priest to the speaker's platform who suggested: "A man without a nationality is like shit in a rainstorm." The public whistled in protest.

[Pauleto] Yes, he experienced a debacle in Pazin, and that arose from our feeling that we should not have anyone overseeing us any longer, no one any longer interpreting to us who we actually are, because if the Slavs, including the Croats, held on to their language for 13 centuries, then no one has the right to tell the Istrians who they actually are. We have nothing against Croatia, most Istrians feel themselves to be Croats, we carry Croatism in our hearts, but we do not want to identify Croatia with what is being created by the party in power under strange banners. That kind of Croatism truly frightens Istrians.

Genocide of the Latin Population

[Djurdjevic] In his speech in Buje, President Tudjman mentioned that the population of Istria today is 75 percent Croat. Is this an answer to the demands that have been made for autonomy, and how do you perceive that message?

[Pauleto] He was not applauded in Buje. We took that as a threat. The allegation that according to the 1981 Census there were only 15,000 Italians still living in Istria is a scandal for both Croatia and all of Yugoslavia. We can confidently refer to everything that happened to the Latin population as genocide. Shame cannot be the basis for boasting. The population census next year will show a drastically different composition of the population. We have good reason to be afraid that it will not be conducted lawfully and honestly. If it is allowed, many people will declare themselves to be "Istrians," because that is actually how they feel, rejecting division into ethnic groupings. If there is freedom, and if there is no

manipulation, people will declare themselves objectively. We know how the last census was conducted. This was usually done by local activists who ran things. We know what the consequences could have been if the vote was not to their liking. That fear was human and understandable.

[Djurdjevic] What benefit came to your commitments from the new Constitution of Croatia?

[Pauleto] When the drafting began, it was heralded as "the most modern" and "the most democratic constitution of Europe and the world." We can be thankful that some change has nevertheless occurred. An opportunity has been offered for creation of a chamber of parishes in the Croatian Assembly, and the possibility of creating so-called parishes has been announced. I have nothing against the name, although it is foreign to me, but I have something against the essence of what has been conceived. It is evident that the victorious party consented to that solution with its teeth clenched. But now they have already said that the chamber of parishes in the Croatian Assembly would be a formality, some kind of "chamber of wise men." Nothing has been said about parishes, and actually that idea originated in Istria. It has been taken up today in Dalmatia and Medjugorje. Those are regions demanding autonomy. The Constitution has gone in a different direction.

[Djurdjevic] Can you explain what kind of autonomy Istria is demanding?

[Pauleto] The vision of the top leadership concerning the parishes is more like the pashaluks 500 years ago than a modern region and autonomy. Our aspiration is that Istria acquire the status of an interrepublic or intergovernmental region. If Croatia and Slovenia, if Yugoslavia, reflect seriously about Europe and joining Europe, then that kind of linkage is extremely necessary. Intergovernmental Istria would have its own miniassembly or parliament that would have its own autonomy. The constitution of that future autonomy, that future region, ought to be brought into conformity with the Constitutions of Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy, that is, of Italy and Yugoslavia. It is a question of home rule with a certain degree of autonomy because we are not demanding either a separate armed force or conduct of foreign political affairs. Istria, then, would become an intergovernmental region that would exist in the framework of those two states as a connecting link between them, not a factor of division.

[Djurdjevic] Your demands have been referred to in Zagreb as separatistic, as destruction of Yugoslavia. How do you explain that?

[Pauleto] It is obvious who is actually destroying Yugoslavia. We have absolutely nothing against Yugoslavia. And we feel that it is absurd to break it apart. Our direction is to become part of Europe. We would first define a formula for life together with Croatia. We want to live as a part of Croatia, but on an equal footing and as an intergovernmental and interrepublic region. If the

wreckers really and definitively do break up Yugoslavia, the thinking will have to be different. One deputy in the Italian Parliament recently set forth his position. "We could understand," he said, "Istria's belonging to Yugoslavia after the war, but we cannot accept Istria belonging today to Croatia, especially with consent or treaty, because in World War II Croatia, just like Italy, was on the side of fascism. Istria cannot have been lost by one loser in the war and now gained by another loser...." A certain number of Istrians, of course, have emotional ties to Italy, but a majority are aware of all the differences that have occurred, and any rough shock-annexation to Italy could only have bad consequences. We Istrians have a gift for handling our own affairs and conducting a sensible policy that in time would bring us closer to that level of civilization both in the economic sense and in every other respect.

Who Will Decide

[Djurdjevic] Who today can make that decision?

[Pauleto] In our opinion, there are three categories of groupings which must decide on the fate of Istria. First, there are those who were driven out. Then there are the old Istrian settlers, who have always lived here; and the third group is made up of citizens who moved in after 1945. To be sure, in 1947, if we want to look at that arrival precisely, a certain number of people also came from Monfalcone, from Italy. The important thing is that from all those sources has come a generation which now also feel themselves to be Istrian and which I consider to be the most vital force of Istria. Their parents come from differing ethnic groupings, but these young people are no longer divided that way. All of them certainly do not want Istria to become a part of Italy in that crude fashion, but, I believe, they want the autonomy we are advocating.

[Djurdjevic] What have been the contacts and talks with the authorities in Croatia on this topic?

[Pauleto] Our demands are being completely ignored. We have been demanding a modern autonomy, an integral Istria, but Nazi states have been created. However, the way Croatia and Slovenia are being ordered now, those are designs for shaping the state from the last century, they arose on behalf of war and during war. The strong guards which are now called "redarstvenici" and some of the strong special armed units are clear evidence of this. Istria simply does not accept that. Istria is not going to join Europe, but is actually returning there. The state which has been set up, the centralist, ethnic, aggressive and warlike state, is contrary to our aspirations. It has been set up after the ugly models of a conception, on tribalism and clericalism. I personally am religious, I am proud of that, and I think that I am a good believer, but we know how the civilized world looks on the example of the creation of Khomeini's state. It is inconceivable that the "redarstvenici" should be formed without a decision

by the Croatian Assembly. And this is clear evidence of the kind of state about which we are talking. The analogies are unavoidable.

[Djurdjevic] Do you postulate creation of regions and autonomous structures in Croatia only for Istria, or are these fundamental attitudes of Istria universal in nature?

[Pauleto] I have been following and read everything I can find on the experiences of regional organization in Europe. The IDS has never mentioned a region or autonomy only for Istria. The possibility of that kind of organization is obvious in the region of Croatia. If we start with Istria, the Gorski Kotar, the Croatian coast, Kordun, Lika, Slavonia...it is evident that in that division there are specific features of Croatia and those areas have to be updated. In what form, that is a matter for agreement! I do not say that each of those regions can have the same level of autonomy. Istria and Kninska Krajina and Medjumurje have the conditions for a specific level of that autonomy. But the answers coming in to those questions from the center are not so harsh anywhere in Europe as they are here. It is self-evident that the people who live in Knin are those who have the greatest right to decide on its fate and arrangement. That is their right and that would be their freedom. What is happening in Knin today is regrettable, but there is a justification for it. What bothers me as a citizen of this country is that so far no one, neither the prime minister nor any government commission, has paid attention to those people and gone to talk to the people in Knin. At the culmination of the tension in Knin, President Tudjman calmly made a 12-day trip to the United States and Canada! Is that any way to run a railroad? I cannot escape the conclusion that the tension over Knin is welcome to someone. I would dare to say, and this is my modest conviction, that Knin is being used and this situation is being maintained even by the Croatian Government as an alibi to take attention away from Croatia as a whole and to divert the thoughts of citizens from the promises that have gone unfulfilled.

The Catastrophic State of the Economy

[Djurdjevic] Istria has nevertheless gotten a highway. When it was opened, Antun Vrdoljak said that this is a "gift of Croatia to Istria."

[Pauleto] He forgot to say that Istria had put up 51 percent of the money, and the other 49 percent came from Istria earlier and was drawn off to Zagreb. How can people dare to talk that way? In the West, he would have had to resign because of manipulation. People know the extent of Istria's inflow of foreign exchange from tourism. The economy both in Istria and in Croatia is disastrous. No one is raising the issue of the economy. The party in power said on the eve of the election that it did not want to present its development plan because others would steal it. Under the pressure of the situation, they now have had to admit that they do not have one at all. The promises that our people from all over the world would invest \$115 billion have turned out to be a joke.

You understand, Europe is uniting, it now has its own ambassadors, but it does not have the money to float some new Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe nor even for this area. We are left to trust in our own ability, and it is up to the government to work intensively to create the conditions for something, not to preoccupy itself with petty politics and symbols from the Middle Ages. The ethnic thrust is dying down, everyone sees the economic disaster. The manipulation still survives in the most backward areas. Those honest people and their sentiments are being manipulated. And sooner or later they will also come to understand all this. Croatia will lose a great deal at that point. The symbolism, the nationalistic motives, the behavior of the "hawks" make it inevitable to draw comparisons between what happened in fascist Italy and the new Croatocentrism. Istria recognizes this.

[Djurdjevic] How do you interpret the plebiscite on secession of Slovenia and the most recent decision to adopt a new constitution that would help to bring that process to a conclusion?

[Pauleto] Every grouping has the right to regulate its own position and relations, but not at the expense of others. Slovenia has never been in Istria; I have already spoken about the illegality of the border and of the division of Istria. Slovenia's Nazi leaders were the first to say that the plebiscite was being conducted in order to strengthen positions in negotiations with the rest of the Federation. Now they are making a decision on the new constitution which would allow them complete separation. It is clear that no intentions to negotiate were involved at all. For Istria, this is all illegal and has no justification.

Report on Special Edition of Army Journal

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28 Jan 91 pp 10-11

[Extracts from NARODNA ARMIJA special edition, prepared by R. Rankovic: "As Many as 80,000 HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] Members Armed to the Teeth"]

[Text] "These are only a few facts, and perhaps not even the most important ones, from authentic sources, which are essential for insight into the truth about the creation and arming of illegal paramilitary organizations," states the last sentence of the lead article of the NARODNA ARMIJA special edition which appeared on newsstands yesterday.

In 52 pages titled "The Truth About the Arming of HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] Terrorist Organizations," it presented several documents, facsimiles, testimony, and facts about the strategic goals behind the formation of these units, their planned activities, the terrorist and genocidal inspirations guiding their creators and strategists, the international contacts and channels for illegally arming them, the pressure on the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and the centers of support for such an HDZ policy in the international environment.

Although all the data and the facts presented are perhaps not even the most important ones, they are sufficiently impressive and inarguable.

Transcript of Video Recording Made in October 1990

Martin Spegelj: We will not conceal anything anymore. We have 40,000 armed people in the reserve militia, and 8,000 special forces in Zagreb, and we do not want to conceal anything from anyone anymore. Well, that is that. If this had not happened and I had not been interviewed on TV, and especially in DANAS, then those forces which were shown from the special forces... There are 8,000 of them like wolves in Zagreb.

Spegelj: Three hundred of them are guarding the Assembly alone; there are 8,200 of them. There are 750 of them in Pula, who have already been in training for a year. There are 750 in Rakitje. They are all armed to the teeth. There are 750 at the militia station near Karlovac and Lucka, and 750 in Tuskanac; they are staying there now at the "Seven SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] Secretaries" barracks, that is, Pioneer House 2000. And when they—I deliberately let slip their numbers and their weapons—when they added it up, all of them, plus my interview, the federal secretary started thinking.

Janko: Only he has a lot of support.

Spegelj: Among the officers?

Janko: Among the officers.

Spegelj: And what will the officers do without an army? In Zagreb 35 percent of the soldiers are of Albanian nationality, and we informed all of them.

Spegelj: On Thursday, we asked the federal secretary and Kolsek the question: How do you interpret the army leaving the barracks so that there would not be any confusion and shooting, and we should be informed every time the army leaves the barracks, alerts, and so forth.

Janko: You openly told him that?

Spegelj: Yes, yes, and in writing.

Janko: (expletive deleted)

Powerful Weapons "Issued"

Spegelj: My God, they don't even know that powerful, powerful weapons have been issued to people. That is a lot. Five military districts do not have that many, they do not have that many weapons in their hands. The entire Fifth Military District has 22,000 people, with soldiers and everyone. Here there are 60,000 weapons that have been distributed.

Janko: There are about 9,000 noncommissioned officers somewhere around there.

Spegelj: And there are the soldiers.

Janko: You are thinking of all of them together.

Spegelj: Yes, yes.

Janko: Good, good.

Spegelj: And we said the following: "Listen, we have secured ourselves. You were constantly saying that you would fight against a confederation, and that you would fight against the new regime. Consequently, in order to establish order and avoid any accidental shooting, you announce every activity of the army ahead of time." And now, I have not yet received an answer.

Janko: You are still waiting for an answer.

If a Disturbance Begins, the Shooting Will Start

Spegelj: I am waiting for an answer. We have to clarify that. If some disturbance begins here in Virovitica, the shooting will start.

Spegelj: No, but those are details, those are minor things, because that is my area. Otherwise, I do not deal with those things. I conduct these operations at the Yugoslav level and at the republic level. The thing is that now they know that 40,000 effective weapons are in the hands of the reserve militia: in Slatina, in Grubisno Polje, in Pakrac and so forth, in people's hands. They do not know how many, but they know that they are there. "And now that has changed," he says, "now we do not have anything to seek in a civil war." Every officer will be killed immediately on the street, or in the doorway of his house.

Janko: That exists, you are right, they are afraid, afraid.

Spegelj: The safest thing for every noncommissioned officer and officer will be to stay home. That will be the safest thing, to stay home and watch TV in his slippers. Nothing will happen to him. If he goes somewhere, into the street or to his unit, it will happen in three places: He will be killed in his unit, or on the street, or in front of his apartment.

Spegelj: Saint Sunday [as published] brought 18,000 rifles, 18,000. And there are five to six warehousemen to whom we gave them against their signatures and they signed statements. One of them is a traitor. We do not yet know which.

Spegelj: No, you won't fail; that is guaranteed. Listen, what does that army from the Ninth mean? From the Fifth Military District there are 22,000 soldiers and 9,000 noncommissioned officers. And we now have over 80,000 people armed, and armed to the teeth at that. Someone will leak it. Here Koprivnica leaked, and there will be a leak somewhere else. We won't even be able to conceal it anymore in seven, eight, or 10 days.

We will reveal it. You took the weapons from territorial defense, and we armed ourselves again, and now just go

ahead. Either we will work peacefully toward resolving the confederation, or we will fight. And then you know who will get the worst of it.

Spegelj: They do not know that we have 300 Kalashnikovs in apartments in Virovitica.

Well, OK, I say that we also have them in Slatina, and that we have them in Daruvar as well. In Daruvar someone broke in, but there are 100 places that we have them and someone will break in. What can we do about it now?

Daruvar is interesting because of ammunition, but now even ammunition is not a question anymore, it is no longer a question at all. In 10 days we will even make that public.

Disarming the Guardhouses, Seizing the Virovitica Garrison

Spegelj: Everything remains, that whole plan remains as it was earlier: disarming the guardhouses, seizing the whole Virovitica garrison, that has all been organized. All of that is still in effect, but now we can already breathe more easily. That has been overturned, but naturally full attention has to continue to be devoted, but they have realized that they do not have any chance. And that is the vital thing. Until 15 days ago they thought that we would come out with tanks, cannons, and everything else. We will come out with the army. The army is 30 percent Albanian.

Janko: And Slovene.

Spegelj: And Slovene, Croat.

Janko: Yes, Croat, and Macedonian.

Spegelj: And Macedonian.

Janko: And Moslem as well?

Spegelj: And Moslem as well, yes. Consequently, that is not an army for fighting. And if the officers want to fight, then we will see, we have already made preparations for everyone. And so at that strategic level, at the Yugoslav level, they are still dreaming that they can stop it, and that if necessary they can block the elections in Bosnia and in Macedonia. That has already been messed up, however, and a conflict can only arise later on, next year. But if that is already a conflict between East and West, Serbia and Croatia, or Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, then that is already something completely different. But now the matter is clearer and we can breathe more freely, and you don't have to camouflage yourselves very much any longer. If this guy says that I am an Ustasa, then you can stand up freely and say, "If he is an Ustasa, you are a Cetnik."

Spegelj: The thing has changed completely. They are calling me from the army command, they are calling me from everywhere now, and they are calling me on the phone "so that we can come to see you." I said, "Come,

I don't have time, but you can come for five minutes." Since that night when I was there things have changed so much. I told the commandant, "Listen, first your whole command will be massacred, not one will be left alive, not even their families, because we will not spare anyone. Don't have any illusions that you can raise an alarm against anyone and act against the Croatian authorities." The very next day after I said this, they stated that any elected authority had to be respected and that it had to be contacted, this and that, and so forth. That had not happened before then.

The Army in the Sights

The article "The Army in the Sights" briefly describes how members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry carried out these intelligence activities:

"Elements of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, because of an alleged danger of terrorism, have maximized their monitoring of the movements of military personnel and vehicles, especially in border areas, including military personnel in uniform.

"All military facilities and military housing have been placed under concentric surveillance and intelligence monitoring.

"The activities of JNA units are also being monitored. Reconnaissance is also being conducted with the use of commercial aircraft, and radio communications are used to send reports to Internal Affairs Ministry regional centers on every movement of military personnel, even individuals, and of motor vehicles. The surveillance posts of members of the Internal Affairs Ministry, and civilians located in vehicles or nearby buildings, have been observed near all military facilities.

"Some HDZ armed elements have been ordered to occupy positions for combat against JNA units. Preparations have been made for delivering artillery and missile strikes against all airports on the territory of the republic. Signals have been determined and preparatory orders have been given."

Fanaticism Even in the Oath

We have learned from this special issue that the members of the Croatian Mainstay, Hrvatska Uzdanica [Croatian Hope], a supra-party organization founded within the framework of the Croatian Statehood Movement in Osijek, swear the following oath:

"I (name and surname), at this time yield myself to the entire Croatian people, to all of its ancestors and descendants; I yield to them my body, my unlimited loyalty, and self-sacrifice in the unswerving and unrelenting struggle for a Croatian state—until victory (...).

"By betraying the Croatian people, or the Croatian Mainstay, I will take upon my soul and body a curse and punishment for my unforgiveable sin! May God (Allah) help me!"

[Box, p 10]

Key Actors in the Illegal Importation of Weapons

Prominent officials of the HDZ and the Republic of Croatia played a key role in the illegal weapons importing operation: Martin Spegelj, the Croatian Republic's defense minister; Josip Boljkovac, the minister of internal affairs; Zdravko Mrcic, former minister of internal affairs; Josip Perkovic, undersecretary for state security; Zeljko Tomljenovic, undersecretary for defense affairs; Ilija Dodig, head of the Varazdin center of the SDB [State Security Service]; and Marijan Balaban, head of the Cakovec Public Security Service.

[Box, p 10]

Spegelj's Choice: An Ustasa at the Head of the National Defense Secretariat

Osijek Opstina Assembly
Osijek Elections and Appointments Commission

In accordance with Article 279 of the Law on Nationwide Defense (NARODNE NOVINE, No. 27/84), we are of the opinion that Branimir Glavas can be appointed secretary of the Osijek opstina's Secretariat for National Defense.

Minister Martin Spegelj

* * *

Creating a Croatian State Even at the Cost of Blood

"In addition to insisting upon the functioning of a law-abiding state and respect for constitutionality and legality, and in connection with this human rights, as you know, I have constantly advocated the peaceful solution of problems, reason, and dialogue." Josip Boljkovac, still the current Croatian minister of internal affairs, said this in a statement for TANJUG the day before yesterday, assessing a documentary film from the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] information service as a malicious montage of falsehoods and insinuations.

Consequently, that is what we were supposed to know about Mr. Boljkovac. But what we did not know until now, what the internal affairs minister "hid as a snake does its legs," is what we saw the other evening in the half-hour film about the creation of a republic army with "Croatian machine guns on Croatian shoulders," in which the "leading roles" were played precisely by Mr. Boljkovac and his colleague Martin Spegelj, the minister of defense of the sovereign state of Croatia.

He Thinks One Thing, Says Another, and Does a Third

While the Zagreb weekly DANAS describes Boljkovac as a "disciplined, hard-headed, and stubborn man," the question arises of whether this description leaves out a part, according to which Boljkovac is a person who thinks one thing, says another, and does a third thing.

This is because in September 1990, Bojlkovac sent a message through HINE [Croatian News Agency] to the Serbs in the Knin region that they should have confidence in the Croatian leadership, because it would not do anything against the interests of its citizens. It remains unclear whether Bojlkovac, respecting the Aryan and Starcevic ideas and the new Croatian "super-man," even considers Serbs to be citizens at all:

"We will use all means, we will even use weapons, and the Serbs will never again be what they are in Croatia as long as we are here. And let us hope that their supremacy is a thing of the past, which has not been the case until now. Their Knin will never exist again. There will be no Knin. And we will go into Knin. Knin is going to disappear as Knin. Every Croat should keep this in mind; we will create the state at any cost, even blood," Bojlkovac said only three months later.

Conversation in October 1990

The extent of the cost mentioned in January by the minister was known as early as October 1990, judging from the recording of a spontaneous conversation conducted in an automobile, which has been published along with many other documents in the special issue of the newspaper NARODNA ARMIJA.

Spegelj: Organize two or three people to liquidate the most dangerous ones. Physical liquidation. One will go into an apartment, as a courier.

Spegelj: He will appear in the doorway, bang, bang, and then go down the stairs.

Boljkovac: Afterwards, let them ask the police to find out who it was.

Spegelj: He will go down the stairs, he will visit another one and then another one, or simultaneously. The most dangerous ones can be killed in their doorways. It is not a question of either women or children, nothing like that; that is not being asked.

Spegelj: The matter is so serious that there is no longer any reason for us to be sentimental and so forth.

Spegelj: No, they are afraid, they are very afraid, and as a result of that fear someone can create a short circuit, start a panic, and out of that panic something... In any case, our personnel throughout the entire area are not afraid of anything. I can tell you that those people no longer have any chance at all. None at all. Now 100,000 people in Croatia are armed to the teeth, and so no one, no one, has any chance at all. They will all be killed to the last man; no one will be left alive. The only sensible thing, the smart thing, is to keep that from happening. Listen: If the state, authority, is in question, if it is a question of its being destroyed, then there will not be any mercy here. There will be no mercy.

Janko: There are also similar stories from these people of ours from Koprivnica, and from Varazdin, about the distribution of weapons, about organization, about those

preparations of all sorts, about those addresses of the noncommissioned officers and so forth.

Boljkovac: Martin, we will have to go to the reserve militia and give priority there, and put that HDZ, everything, under the reserve militia.

Five Bullets Apiece to the Albanians

Spegelj: I am not exactly in favor of having it hermetically sealed. Let it be known. Every officer who opposes the multiparty system and this Croatia will be killed. We cannot shrink back and fart around now, (expletive deleted).

Boljkovac: We have to go ahead.

Spegelj: Everyone has to take into account his own life, and the lives of his family and his children, because it will not be a war; it will be a civil war, in which there will be no mercy toward anyone, neither women nor children. Simply the apartment—bombs into the family apartment.

Spegelj: Slatina. If possible, there should be as many Albanians as possible among those people in Slatina.

And there cannot be any more retreat there; there cannot be any more retreat. It has to be kept there. At a given moment, someone will leave with two or three trucks, load it all up, and withdraw it wherever necessary.

As far as the guardhouses are concerned, when the guardhouses are disarmed we will try to have all of them disarmed, as many as there are. Or leave the Albanians five bullets apiece in an automatic rifle.

Yes... the Croats. And these others should be put in a basement and given food and water if it lasts a few days.

The next thing. All of the addresses of officers with an assessment, that is, the address, and so on, Marko Markovic, artillery division commander, lives on such and such a street, orthodox, that is, he is on the other side. Or undetermined. And then the next ones, and so on in order, or something like that.

Consequently, that list should not be given to anyone, but drawn up at home, and when I come suddenly, I will come, and then I will call you to Virovitica somewhere, where you will go in any case.

Spegelj: Sabaric is very important. He can disarm those two guardhouses.

Janko: He can.

Spegelj: And that is already over 300 weapons, antiaircraft weapons, and so forth. I don't know what there is there. Those guard posts are full.

Spegelj: OK, but the brigade is important to us. We have to take over the brigade without bullets. There are cannons, missiles, and Virovitica is trained, the reserve

personnel among the Croatian population are trained in working with cannons and missiles.

Janko: Yes, yes.

Spegelj: And we will go there with that, if necessary.

(Boljkovac occasionally expresses approval with interjections: yes, yes, etc.)

Spegelj: And if this comes to something, then just give a directive to your people, whom you know, to kill the extremists... On the spot, on the street, in the middle of the barracks circle, or anywhere else, just a pistol in the stomach and fire two bullets.

Boljkovac: Let them swallow them.

His Dream Was a Croatian Army

Apparently Minister Boljkovac has not been able to agree with the JNA at all. His service has monitored the army's noncommissioned officers, issued orders not to respect JNA orders, and purchased weapons on the black market when it could not be done legally. His dream was a Croatian army, as one could conclude from the sound recording of his "monologue" in January 1991:

"Look, we will create a Croatian army. The Croats will only change the command, they will change the ones who give the orders, and they will fall under the jurisdiction of the Croatian state. Whoever is loyal to us in this will remain with us. We will prepare everything, first of all in the strictest secrecy, and then let them see that we have the strength. That is what we decided with Martin, and there will be no more discussion of this.... The army as it is now will no longer exist. We are aiming at creating an army of the Atlantic type.

"We are aiming at the creation of such an army in Yugoslavia. More precisely, we will have an army, but under the jurisdiction of Croatia, and we will see, on the basis of parity, by agreement and treaty, who will be the commander and what the staff will be like for external relations. But for internal matters, we will have the police. Consequently, the army does not have anything to do with keeping internal order. That is not its purpose."

We find the "key" to resolving the minister's dreams in his statement that he will be the happiest of men if all Croats join him tomorrow when he creates his own army. And he needs an army, as he says himself in the recording from January 1991, to break up Yugoslavia.

"Consequently, that would be our army, like that, in general terms. Now the command is different. I had talks on that yesterday with two American generals. We will break up Yugoslavia de jure, by treaty."

[Box, p 11]

There Is No Autonomous Province in Croatia

"And let us appreciate that the army is ready in Croatia, or there will be blood. The army is incapable in Croatia, among us it is incapable of carrying out a coup. More precisely, any decision to proclaim a state of emergency here, or any demand for army intervention, would be a preface to a fratricidal war. We have among these masses such a mood that we can scarcely restrain them and keep them from killing some soldier against our will, especially one of those who have come from outside. It is thus becoming more and more difficult for us to guarantee peace; the country is quite fragile, everything is fragile, and I wrote and signed a letter about this to the Presidency of Yugoslavia and to the federal government. I also had talks with Markovic, more than once, and here we spoke the last time and we will probably also have lunch together. I said that we did not want a Kosovo in Croatia. Otherwise, we will be ready in front of the whole world. We cannot allow the Kosovoization of Croatia while we are alive, but that is what they would like; that is what Milosevic would like. But no—we have to avoid that.

"We will ask the army to ensure a division for us, to give us certain resources, especially technical ones, so that we can avoid the worst. I personally know generals in Zagreb and Split, and I will ask them for that. And we will also go against Knin. Knin as it is at present has to disappear. There is no autonomous province in Croatia. If the army acts here as I hope it will, that is, in a way that is consistent with how it has acted in the past, then there will be no problem, but even then there will be no guarantees against actions by individuals in the army."

(Josip Boljkovac, January 1991)

[Box, p 11]

We Are Counting on Every Croat

"We Croats had a state in 1945. And today, all Croats should know that we will create a state at any price, even if it is blood. It will be a tragedy if there is blood, but we want to have every Croat and to know who stands where so that we can count on him. In Belgrade, counting on the Croatian factor, we had four Croatian generals. Now they are also being driven out of the army, like the others earlier. There is no longer anything to wonder about; it is the only way, and all Croats have to be aware of this, and thus also of the fact that one of us might 'accidentally' receive a bullet somewhere."

(Josip Boljkovac in his "Monologue" in January 1991)

[Box, p 11]

Hungarians Most Ready To Do Business

NARODNA ARMIJA devotes several pages to the role of Josip Boljkovac in procuring weapons for his reserve militia. Since he did not receive a satisfactory answer

from the SSNO, that is, since he was told that a shipment of the quantity of weapons that Minister Boljkovac needed could not be delivered until the end of 1991, he "went out into the world."

Back in August Boljkovac was "making inquiries" elsewhere in the world about who he could get weapons from most quickly. He contacted Israel, England, and the USSR, but apparently the Hungarians were most ready to do business.

[Box, p 11]

Weapons Exclusively for the Needs of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry's Police Forces

Along with a facsimile of an international bill of lading from a warehouse in Hungary, the NARODNA ARMIJA special edition also published a certificate from Minister Boljkovac:

"We, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, here confirm by end user certificate that the goods will be purchased and imported into Yugoslavia exclusively for the needs of the police forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"We guarantee that we will not reexport the purchased and imported goods outside of Yugoslavia.

"The address of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs is Savska 39, 41000 Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

"Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia Boljkovac"

[Box, p 11]

Order Against Order

To Everyone:

Tonight, between 11 and 12 December, through the intelligence and alert centers in some opstinas you have received various orders that were supposed to apply to the activity of the internal affairs service with respect to JNA garrisons and units.

All such orders are irregular, and you are not to act on them. The circumstances that led to such orders being issued are being clarified.

We remind you that internal affairs organs and services can act only on orders from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia
Josip Boljkovac

[Box, p 11]

Number of Constables Increased by 233 Percent

During the 48 hours in which the Presidency of Yugoslavia was asked to postpone the implementation of its disarmament order, and during the next two days, the reserve militia was increased from 13,371 to 31,229 members, i.e., by 233 percent. The total size of the active and reserve forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs on 22 January was thus 50,471 people.

POLAND

Municipal Transit in Need of Restructuring

91EP0192A Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE
in Polish No 50, 16 Dec 90 p 6

[Article by Henryk Podraza: "No One Knows What Will Happen Next"]

[Text] In November, a wave of protest actions and strikes in municipal transit swept the entire country. The MPK [Municipal Transit Enterprise] workers, and the union branch headquarters supporting them, demanded that wages be increased, that the past-due subsidies owed them by the city and voivodship managements be increased or paid, and above all, that explicit and lasting rules for the financing of municipal transit be established. It was also demanded that city managements enter into civil-law contracts with municipal transit enterprises, clearly defining the obligations of both sides. The enterprises would bind themselves to provide hauling services and the cities would either purchase them, or if they were not able to afford the services, not contract for them.

The situation which has now arisen, according to MPK representatives, is untenable. The cities do not have money and are waiting for subsidies from the voivodes. The voivodes are demonstrating goodwill and willingness to come to their assistance, but they have more to think about than just transit. The health service, the schools, etc., are also waiting for money, and it is difficult to please everyone. MPK, therefore, either does not receive the subsidies due them, or they get them late, to say nothing of the fact that they are too low in relation to the steadily growing costs. At the same time, the cities do not want to discontinue the present range of transit services, because shortening or lessening the number of runs would not be received well by the populace. For this reason, many enterprises are in danger of going bankrupt or ceasing operations, because they do not even have enough money for fuel.

As a result of negotiations conducted on both the government and regional level, it was promised that past-due subsidies will be paid or payments to those enterprises which are in financial difficulty will be accelerated, but without increasing the planned sums. The managements of several cities scraped up a little money and sent it to the enterprises. Some cities used this money to increase drivers' wages, thereby paying a huge tax on excessive remuneration.

The matter ended, therefore, with emergency cosmetic measures. The largest holes in the MPK budget were patched, which will allow it to survive, let us hope, a few months. What will happen next, no one knows. The basic problems affecting the future of municipal transit and its financing were left hanging. If they are not quickly solved and the present state of temporariness remains, another crisis can be expected and again emergency

decisions will have to be made in an atmosphere of irritability and under duress.

All of these difficulties stem from the fact that the old system of financing municipal transit has come to an end and care was not taken to create a new one. In the past, the state was responsible for maintaining public services, meaning also municipal transit. The State Treasury covered all of the expenses and was not very interested in who is paying and whether this might not cost less. Now the government wants to transfer responsibility for municipal transit, and a large part of the financial burden it entails, to the territorial self-governments and to the citizens, which are already paying more and more for each ride. The goal of this operation is to make municipal transit more efficient, to adapt its services to the actual and not the exaggerated needs of the residents, and to the cities' financial capabilities, with possible support, where really essential, from the Central Budget.

This assumption is generally correct. The state cannot be responsible for everything.

But no one talks about how to do this in practice, how to get through this interim period so that transit does not break down. The only sign of the state's new policy on this are the empty coffers in the cities, and the empty coffers in MPK, and, thus far, there are no ideas on how to fill them.

The immediate need, therefore, is to create a new system for financing municipal transit and a new model of transit enterprises. There is a belief among the representatives of the city authorities that the government should work this out with the participation of the representatives of the territorial self-governments. The self-governments alone cannot do this because many matters require changes in regulations, even legislative initiatives. It is believed, for example, that it is inconceivable that municipal transit enterprises are subject to the same regulations as factories which produce goods, and that they must pay the same taxes and strive to make a profit, although they receive subsidies out of the city or Central Budget. Some city authorities are attempting to free these enterprises from this constraint by transforming them into treasury-owned plants or companies. But these are half measures which do not solve the problem. The municipal enterprises, in their opinion, should have a separate legal status, adapted to the function that they perform. And this should be settled during the course of the work on the development of a new transit financing system.

There is also another reason why representatives of the government should participate in the creation of this system. The transit serves not only the cities, but also the adjoining areas. If it is left only to the self-governments, and they are told to pay for it in its entirety, it is obvious that the self-governments, having little money, will begin to limit the service to their own areas, depriving the residents of the surrounding communities of the ability to travel to the cities. These fears are not exaggerated.

We have reports that some city managements have already turned to the managements of neighboring rural townships demanding that they finance those city transit runs which go through their territories. The rural townships are generally poor and will not be able to fulfill this demand. The result may be that buses will run only in cities. If this spreads, Poland will become an aggregation of cities and rural townships, isolated from each other due to lack of transit. This cannot be allowed to happen. Maintaining efficient, accessible to all, transit, both city as well as intercity, is in the interest of both society and the state. Society's mobility, its occupational activity, depends on transit. Mindless economy measures, shortening of routes or cutting the frequency of runs, may lead to a weakening of economic activities, or even occasional unemployment, when people have no way of getting to work. That is why the government administration should maintain an influence on municipal transit and intervene when public interest requires, assuming the financial effects of this intervention.

There are three possible sources from which municipal transit can be financed: receipts from transit tickets, subsidies out of the Central Budget, and subsidies out of the city budget.

It is impossible for transit to maintain itself out of its own receipts. It is estimated that to do this, a ticket would have to cost about 2,000 zlotys, which in our conditions would not be acceptable to society. But MPK's own receipts can be increased if the problem of reduced-fare tickets is put into order. As Adam Lech (TYGODNIK OPOZYCYJNY No. 1) writes, in Krakow, 50 percent of the passengers ride free or on reduced-fare tickets. He is not saying that these privileges should be taken away, but he is saying that those who granted them should repurchase them. The representatives of the municipal transit branch unions are of the same opinion. The fares for school children should be repurchased by the minister of national education, for annuitants and pensioners by the minister of labor and social policy, and the workplaces should repurchase the fare reductions granted their employees. At present, MPK hauls many passengers free or at half fare and no one sees this, yet every zloty paid into their account is counted as a subsidy. And after all, a large part of the sums paid in are not subsidies, but are compensation to

the enterprises for the losses which occurred due to the fare discounts they granted. Repurchasing them, as is done with State Railroads tickets, will bring order into the accounting of the MPK with the city budget and reduce the need for actual subsidies. At the same time, those who grant the discounts, when the time comes that they have to pay for them, will undoubtedly limit them to persons who are truly in financial difficulty.

Extensive changes must be made in the municipal transit enterprises themselves. They must adapt to new conditions and begin to work more cheaply and economically. The city mayors are not rejecting the idea put forth during the strikes that agreements should be entered into with MPK and specific hauling services should be purchased from them. But they believe that they should be combined with a splitting up of the monopolies in these enterprises. MPK, as the only enterprises of this type in the cities, are monopolies and can dictate their terms because they have no competition.

In large cities, it is possible to divided them into smaller units and create mini-competition. In Krakow, MPK was transformed in this way into six companies. Similar possibilities exist in Warsaw. In the small towns such an operation is impossible. Nor can it be expected that private hauling firms will be established which will be able to service at least one line, let us say. A bus costs several score or even several hundred million zlotys and people with the necessary Polish or foreign capital will not rush into such an venture. The city managements, therefore, must find another form of pressure to force the transit enterprises to reduce their costs.

There is an old proverb which says that if the captain of a ship does not know which port he is sailing to, then all of the winds will be against him. That is now how it is with municipal transit. Everything is against it because it does not know its own future. It does not know where it is going, what it can count on, and who will finance it and to what degree. Under such conditions, the emergency measures which should be taken cannot be planned so as to become part of the final solutions, but they are preserving the existing state of affairs, which probably will soon be changed.

This state of temporariness should end, and the sooner this occurs the better—for transit, for the passengers, for the self-governments, and for the government also.

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